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THE CORONATION BOOK

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THE CORONATION BOOK

OR

THE HALLOWING OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND

BY

THE REV. JOCELYN PERKINS, M.A.

SACRIST AND MINOR CANON OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

ILLUSTRATED BY MRS. TEMPLE PERKINS

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PREFACE

THE aim of the author of this volume has been to convey, by means of a series of separate, though connected pictures, as vivid an impression as possible, of the splendid ceremonial which once surrounded the "hallowing" of our English monarchs, and of which only a fragment remains to-day. The utmost care has been bestowed upon the illustrations, which it is hoped, will succeed in adding very much greater interest to the subject-matter. A list of works bearing on the Coronation has been appended; and, though it might be extended very considerably, it may possibly be of some value to others. The author

desires to take this opportunity of expressing his sense of indebtedness, in a greater or lesser degree, to the works whose titles have been collected together in Appendix VII. Those dating from the early nineteenth century he has largely utilised. He trusts that any authors who may happen to be still living will accept this acknowledgment of such help as may have been derived from their pages.

JOCELYN H. T. PERKINS.

4 DEAN'S YARD,
WESTMINSTER ABBEY, S.W.
Whitsun Eve 1902.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE Coronations of King William IV and Queen Victoria have been not unjustly described as representing the very nadir into which the solemn rite of "hallowing" our English Monarchs has ever fallen. In that of King Edward VII there was beheld a not unsuccessful return to the better traditions which had prevailed in an earlier age such as, to give one illustration only, the restoration in a somewhat modernised form of the Procession of the Regalia,

which had been dropped ever since the Coronation of King George IV.

This volume was originally published during the first half of the year 1902. For a variety of reasons, however, it has seemed desirable to allow the main body of the text to stand as before, but a second portion has been added devoted simply and solely to the record of the great events of nine years ago as they presented themselves to one who was an eye-witness throughout.

The Bibliography of works bearing upon the Coronation has been amplified, though the fact must here be stated that even in this enlarged form it makes no claim to completeness.

JOCELYN PERKINS.

4 Dean's Yard,
Westminster Abbey,
March 11, 1911.

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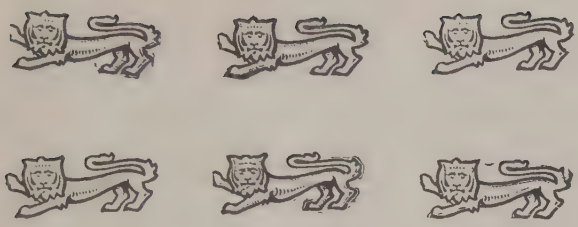


PART I

I

THE REGALIA OF ENGLAND

In the Eastern Cloister of Westminster Abbey stands a massive and aged door. The thickness of the adjoining walls and its own ponderous iron bands alike indicate its superlative importance. Till recently, that huge double door with its seven great locks could only be opened in the presence of certain high officials—successors of Hugolin, the Confessor's famous Treasurer, who, if tradition speaks truth, still sleeps within this gloomy chamber. This, the "Chapel of the Pyx," as it is termed, together with the Crypt beneath the adjoining Chapter House, forms an abiding witness to that universal sentiment, which impelled our forefathers to store their most cherished possessions beneath the inviolable protection of the Church's shadow. Where indeed could our Norman Sovereigns have discovered a spot more fully in keeping with their own motives of

worldly policy, as well as with the spirit of the age, than in the heart of the Abbey, consecrated by S. Peter himself, watched over with such tender care by Saxon Edward, and now still further hallowed by the presence of his loved remains?

To Westminster then were brought, so writes the great Dean, "the Regalia of the Saxon monarchy, the Black Rood of S. Margaret from Scotland, the Cross of S. Neot from Wales, deposited by Edward I., the sceptre or rod of Moses, the Ampulla of Henry IV., the Sword with which King Athelstan cut through the rock at Dunbar, the Sword of Wayland Smith, by which Henry II. was knighted, the Sword of Tristan, presented to John by the Emperor, the Dagger which wounded Edward I. at Acre, and the iron Gauntlet worn by John of France when taken prisoner at Poictiers."

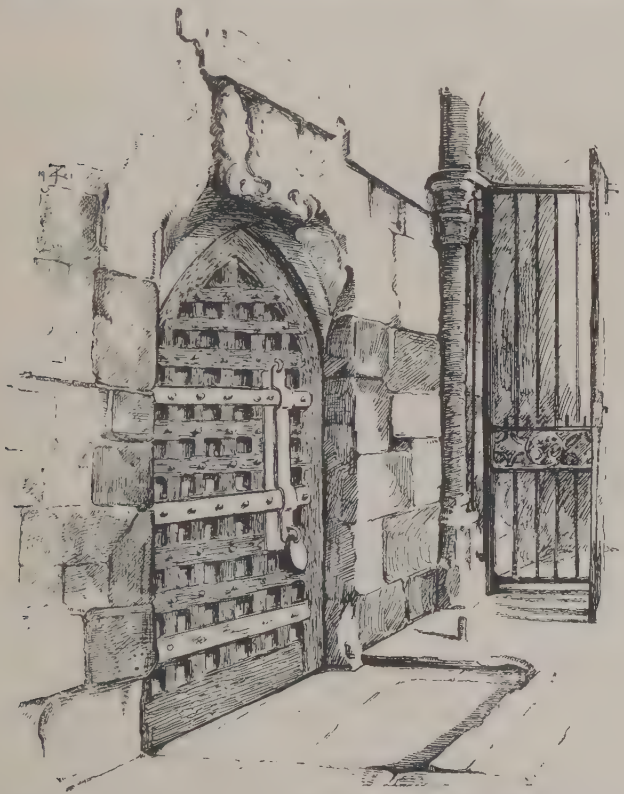
The right of the Abbot and brethren to be the guardians of these national insignia was established by their foundation charter, and confirmed by the authority of at least three Popes. Twice every year did the monks delight to exhibit the coronation robe of their sainted founder. Norman and Plantagenet, Tudor and Stuart alike, must be crowned with S. Edward's crown, their consorts with that of Queen Edith. The ring, signifying the lifelong compact between king and people, was the identical jewel restored to Edward by the pilgrims, in proof of the special favour of the Apostle of love. The very "laws of the glorious Confessor," represented to each succeeding monarch the touchstone of his loyalty, the pledge of his own singleness of heart.

At Westminster, then, was the first Treasury of the Royal Wardrobe, and for many a long year did

The Crypt of Westminster Abbey
The original Treasure House of the Sovereigns of England

this great Benedictine house extend its shelter to these most dearly prized possessions of the nation. The daily life of the monastic brethren rolled on. Few events occurred to interrupt its calm. An occasional coronation, the ravages of the Black Death, the steady growth of their glorious Church in the hands of great "builder Abbots" like Nicholas Litlington and John Islip, were the only prominent features in their commonplace, unenlightened existence. Once, however, this peaceful inner life was shaken to its very foundations. In the mighty Crypt of the Chapter House, with its thick impenetrable walls, there were usually stored not only the relics and the coronation Regalia, but also the royal plate and personal jewels of the Sovereign, together with other articles of special value and rarity, and, at times, vast masses of the public money also. Hence, in the year 1303 an enormous quantity of specie had been accumulated, in view of the national emergency occasioned by the Scotch war. Edward Plantagenet was now on the march with his grand army through the north. The adjoining palace was well-nigh deserted. Such an opportunity was too tempting for refusal. That spring the royal Treasury was broken open and rifled. The thieves possessed sufficient common sense to leave the crowns and sceptres severely alone, but the enormous store of valuables—jewels, spoons, dishes, rings, girdles, together with cups of gold and silver, amounting, in value it is alleged, to some millions of money, were seized. The robbery was conducted throughout on the most scientific principles! A large quantity of hemp seed had been deliberately sown in the monks' cemetery, to the east of the Abbey. Here the treasure was hidden for the moment, and then

carried away across the water by Richard de Podelicote, a travelling merchant, aided and abetted, alas! by Alexander de Pershore and others of the monastic



The Chapel of the Pyx in the Great Cloisters of Westminster Abbey, once the Monastic Treasury, subsequently used together with the Tower as a storehouse for the English Regalia

body. The news reached the King at Linlithgow, and his fury blazed forth in a manner truly regal. Down came writ after writ, which Edward's subjects knew better than to disobey. Then followed the

formal investigation at the hands of the Lord Mayor and the Master of the Wardrobe. Imagine the horror of these functionaries when they beheld the floor strewn with broken boxes and scattered jewels, including the Privy Seal and the ring with which Henry III. was invested! Even the great cross of S. Neot was lying there, despoiled of its jewelled case! In a brief space, therefore, Abbot Wenlock and forty-eight members of his community found their way to equally historic, though less attractive, quarters in the Tower. Here they experienced the lengthened discipline of a two-years sojourn. The guilt was at last driven home to Sub-Prior and Sacrist, who, together with de Podelicote, no doubt received their richly merited reward.

Clerical guardianship, then, had been tried and found wanting. The Regalia and relics still remained in their old home, though, at some subsequent period, they seem to have been removed from the Crypt to the Chapel of the Pyx, once the Monastic Treasury, which was considerably strengthened within and without. The remaining valuables were removed to the greater security of the Tower; but, ere the conclusion of that century, a portion at least were lodged once again within the City of Westminster. In the last year of Edward III.'s reign an exchange was effected between King and convent, by which the latter surrendered a small corner of their precinct. Here, then, was erected "an ancient square tower," to be the King's Jewel House, subsequently, and for many years, the depository of the Acts of Parliament. Unknown to Londoners, this old grey fortress, wearing the marks of Litlington's genius, still lifts its head among the trees of the College Garden,

overlooking the precinct of which once it formed a part—one of the few remaining memorials of the vanished palace of S. Stephen.

The Wars of the Roses came and went, leaving

The King's Jewel House, subsequently and until 1863 the Parliament Office. It is situated at the end of College Mews, Westminster. The wall on the left is the eastern boundary of the College Garden of Westminster Abbey

the Regalia still intact, and daily becoming more venerable in their honoured home. The privileges of the great Church continued as jealousy guarded as ever. Then the storm-cloud of the Reformation burst. Down crashed the old Abbeys of England. The monks of Westminster departed, some never to

return, others to reappear as Prebendaries of the new Collegiate Church of Tudor foundation. Many time-honoured privileges were henceforth abrogated. In defiance of tradition, in defiance of national and local right, these ancient emblems of English kingship were removed from their time-honoured resting-place, and deposited, like a private heirloom, in the Tower. Despite this sweeping change, however, the genius of the place long continued to assert its supremacy. For a whole century longer did the Abbey retain at least a portion of the Regalia. At length, the Great Rebellion broke forth. In the subsequent rule of the Commonwealth, the flood-gates of disorder were flung open. It could hardly be expected that things wearing so significant a meaning as the English Regalia should escape the general downfall. To the Puritan fanatic they signified all that was hateful and detestable. When, in 1644, the proposal was made in the House that the Dean and Prebendaries should surrender the keys of the Treasury, the Lords gallantly withstood this attack. Five years later, however, their influence had dwindled to a vanishing-point, and the extremists in the Commons, though not without considerable opposition, succeeded in carrying their motion for the opening and rifling of the ancient Treasury.

The final scene was not far distant. To Henry Martin, the future regicide, was entrusted the welcome duty of forcing the great doors, and with a hearty goodwill did he essay this task. The massive iron chest was wrenched open, and the Regalia were rudely dragged forth. Their own intrinsic value, their unique character, their grand historical significance, alike failed to command one atom of reverence

from Puritan bigotry. George Withers, a Republican poet, was arrayed in them, and afterwards, "with

The Jewel House in the Tower of London

a thousand ridiculous and apish actions, exposed the sacred ornaments to contempt and laughter."

A valuation was taken, and the doom of the Regalia was sealed. Willingly or unwillingly, the Master of the Jewel House, Sir Henry Mildmay, delivered up these treasures—a transaction which earned him the title of "knave of diamonds." Ere long, the stones were sold for whatever they could fetch, while the sad remnants of these once glorious emblems were, by order of this enlightened Parliament, "totallie broken and defaced."

What, then, were the individual items of these Regalia, which had figured so prominently in English history for well nigh six centuries? We possess a catalogue, compiled about 1450 by one Sporley, a Westminster monk, now among the Cottonian MSS.: also, a list of the various articles required for James I.'s coronation, presented to the Master of the Jewel House by Sir William Segar, Garter King-at-Arms: and lastly, the Inventory compiled by the Parliamentary agents in 1649. A remarkable agreement exists between these several lists, the last named of which, as being the most complete, is here transcribed :—

A TRUE AND PERFECT INVENTORY OF ALL THE PLATE AND JEWELLS NOW BEING IN THE UPPER JEWELL HOUSE OF THE TOWER, IN THE CHARGE OF SIR HENRY MILDMAY, TOGETHER WITH AN APPRAISEMENT OF THEM MADE AND TAKEN THE 13TH, 14TH, AND 15TH DAIES OF AUGUST 1649.

	£	s.	d.
The Imperiall crowne of massy gold, weighing 7 lb. 6 ounces, &c., valued at . .	1110	0	0
The queene's crowne of massy gold, weighing 3 lb. 10 ounces, &c.	338	3	4
A small crowne found in an iron chest, formerly in the lord Cottington's charge, &c., the gold	73	16	8
The diamonds, rubies, sapphires, &c. . .	355	0	0

	£	s.	d.
The globe, weighing 1 lb. 5¼ oz. . . .	57	10	0
2 coronation bracelets weighing 7 oz. (with three rubies and twelve pearls) . . .	36	0	0
Two scepters, weighing 18 oz. . . .	60	0	0
A long rodd of silver gilt, 1 lb. 5 oz. . .	4	10	8

The foremencion'd crownes, since ye inventorie was taken, are accordinge to ord[r] of parlam[t] totallie broken and defaced.

THE INVENTORY OF THAT PART OF THE REGALIA WHICH ARE NOW REMOVED FROM WEST[R] TO THE TOWER JEWEL HOUSE.

	£.	s.	d.
Queen Edith's crowne, formerly thought to be of massy gould, but upon triall found to be of silver gilt, enriched with garnetts, foule pearle, saphires, and some odd stones, p. oz. 50½ ounces, valued at	16	0	0
King Alfred's crowne, of gould wyerworke sett with slight stones, and 2 little bells, p. oz. 79½ oz. at £3 per ounce . . .	248	10	0
A gould plate dish, enamelled, &c. . .	77	11	0
One large glass cupp wrought in figures, &c.	102	15	0
A dove of gould, sett with stones and pearle, p. oz. 8½ ounces, in a box sett with studds of silver gilt	26	0	0
The gould and stones belonging to a coller of crimson taffaty, &c.	18	15	0
One staff of black and white ivory, with a dove on the top, with binding and foote of gould	4	10	0
A large staff with a dove on ye top, formerly thought to be all of gould, but upon triall found to be the lower part wood and silver gilt without, weighing in all 27 ounces, valued at	35	0	0
One small staff with a floure de luce on the topp, formerly thought to be all of gould, but upon triall found to be iron within and silver gilt without	2	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Two scepters, one sett with pearles and stones, the upper end gould, the lower end silver. The other silver gilt, with a dove, formerly thought gould	65	16	10½
One silver spoone gilt, p. oz. 3 ounces . .	0	16	0
The gould of the tassels of the liver cull[d] robe, weighing 4 oz. valued at £8, and the coat with the neck button of gould, £2, the robe having some pearls valued at £3, in all .	13	0	0
All these, according to order of parliamt, are broken and defaced			
One paire of silver gilt spurres, &c. . .	1	13	4

The crown first demands our attention. This ornament has received a fanciful derivation from the rays of glory which played round Moses' head on his descent from the Mount, and which were assumed to indicate sovereign power. The earliest crowns were probably, simple irradiated fillets of gold, but by the time of Athelstan, this comparatively plain ornament had acquired three raised points, each surmounted by a pearl. In Canute's crown the points are elaborated into trefoils, which maintain the idea of symbolical irradiation. The addition of the arch which usually characterises modern crowns, is first observed on the coins of the Confessor. With

S. Edward's Crown. First used by Charles II. Now in the Tower of London

Stephen the well-known fleurs-de-lys appear, and with trifling modifications the crown retains this form until Henry VI., in whose reign the centre trefoil develops into a cross-patée. The full dimensions of the English crown were only attained in that of Henry VIII.—*e.g.*, a rim, adorned by alternate cross-patées and fleurs-de-lys, together with four arches above them, the whole being surmounted by an orb with cross-patée. Such was the "Imperiall Crowne" or crown of state. It was assumed at the conclusion of the coronation service, in S. Edward's Chapel behind the high altar of the Abbey. The early Norman and the Anjevin kings were accustomed to wear their crowns on feast-days and all grand occasions, till Edward I. abandoned the practice, with the witty remark, that "crowns do onerate rather than honour princes." The crown of state was usually made afresh, or at any rate remodelled for each successive Sovereign.

Queen Edith's Crown with which Queen Mary of Modena was crowned in 1685. Now broken up, the materials being used in other crowns

It is practically certain that the "small crowne found in an iron chest" was the state crown of Edward VI., for, in a diary taken from an interleaved copy of "Lilly's Merlini Anglici Ephemeris" for the year 1649, the writer, who seems to have assisted

Sir Henry Mildmay, distinctly states that the crowns for the Queen and for Edward VI. were in the Tower, and two others at Westminster.

But "King Alfred's crowne of gould wyerworke" will doubtless attract wider interest than any other of these royal ornaments. With this crown the actual deed of coronation was wont to be performed. Had it really adorned the brow of the great King himself? It seems more than probable. Robert of Gloucester (1250) in relating the connection between Alfred and

The Globe, or Orb, together with the King's Sceptre with the Cross

Pope Leo IV. distinctly alludes to this crown. "The Pope Leo him blessed and the King's crowne of this land, that in this land yet is." Once more, Sir Henry Spelman (1569–1644) writes, as follows:— "in the arched room in the Cloisters of Westminster Abbey where the antient regalia of this kingdom are kept, upon a box which is cabinet to the antientest crown, there is, as I am informed, an inscription to this purpose—'haec est principalior corona cum qua coronabantur reges Ælfredus, Edwardus,' etc." This

almost sacred diadem must then have descended from the dim infancy of the nation, and though more generally styled S. Edward's crown, only received such appellation because the Confessor had himself worn it, and then entrusted it to the monks of Westminster.

The royal sceptre, as is well known, furnished the original of the fool's bauble; can the curious bells on King Alfred's crown similarly have formed the prototype of the cap?

The "globe" or orb was the emblem of independent sovereignty, as representing the earth, over a portion of which the Sovereign's influence was to be directly exerted. On the great seal of the Confessor the orb is represented as a simple sphere, but from William II. to Henry VIII. it is surmounted by a cross together with a stem of varying length. From that time onwards, the cross rests directly upon the orb, the stem disappearing. The orb is only placed in the hand of Kings and Queens Regnant.

The bracelets were a most ancient emblem of royalty. Such was the veneration with which they were regarded by northern peoples, that they usually possessed enormous value, while the practice of swearing upon them was by no means infrequent. In England, they were employed to fasten the King's sleeves about his wrists, symbolising thus the firmness with which he undertakes to abide by his numerous obligations. They were expressly demanded at the coronation of Mary, while in Elizabeth's case we learn that "two garters" were placed upon her arms.

The sceptre was the emblem of power. As the silver wand, so familiar in cathedrals, was once

hollow, containing the "virge" or rod with which chastisement was inflicted upon the choristers and younger members of the foundation, so, the royal sceptre represented the right to inflict punishment. Hence the expression "to sway the sceptre" implied the holding of regal dignity. The sceptre with the dove—the emblem of peace—possessed the additional signification of the Holy Ghost, as controlling the actions of the Sovereign. The same idea was conveyed at Rheims, by the beautiful ceremony of letting loose a number of doves at the coronation of the French kings. The development of the sceptre exhibits almost as much diversity as that of the crown. The simplest form is that of Ethelred II.—a rod with three pearls at the top which develops under Canute into three trefoils. The Confessor's sceptre is shown on his great seal as containing a cross-patée, while he is also the first monarch who wields the sceptre with the dove. The sceptre-fleury—a triple leaf—appears on the sceptre of the Conqueror, but it does not attain its full development—the fleur-de-lys—until Henry IV. An orb is first seen under Henry II. Thus the sceptres of later years combine all these various elements—the cross of the Confessor, the sceptre-fleury of William I., and the orb of Henry II.

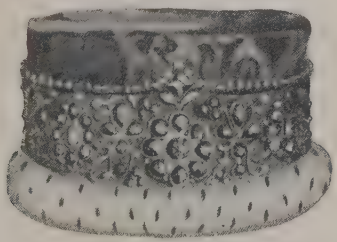
The "long rodd of silver gilt" was a wand carried in front of the King, and usually called S. Edward's staff—the rod of justice and equity. It was alleged to contain a portion of the true Cross. As among the ancient Britons the planting of a staff into the ground, surmounted by a garland, was the signal for holding a court, so to take the staff into the hand implied the assumption of royal jurisdiction.

The "large glass cupp" was doubtless the great "stone" chalice of the Confessor, made of agate, which is first mentioned by Sporley.

The spurs signified the fountain of honour. As

Crown of State worn by Queen Mary of Modena and probably by Queen Mary II. after their Coronations. Now in the Tower of London

the sceptre and crown symbolised the episcopal crozier and mitre, so the spurs, together with the



The Golden Circlet worn in 1685 by Queen Mary of Modena on her way to the Abbey. Now in the Tower of London.

swords, declared the military aspect of the coronation. The swords are not mentioned by Sporley:

hence they were probably added by subsequent monarchs. Being an instrument of chastisement, the sword indicated the fountain of justice, and also the King's headship over the army. The sword of S. Edward, also called "Curtana," represented, with its blunted edge, the attribute of mercy. At the coronation ceremony in earlier times, it was always

The Crown of State worn by James II. on his return from the Abbey to Westminster Hall

borne by the Earl of Chester as Count-Palatine. The two remaining swords implied justice to the spirituality and to the temporality respectively.

Is it not melancholy to reflect that the Long Parliament, while professing to take its stand upon the ancient principles of the English Constitution, could, nevertheless, devise no better use for these venerable relics of a glorious past than their utter destruction?

A new epoch was inaugurated in the history of the Regalia by the Restoration. Before Charles II. had even sailed from the Hague, the House of Lords appointed Commissioners to recover his father's property, where practicable. A very cursory inspection revealed the hopelessness of the task. Accordingly, orders were given to the goldsmith, Sir Robert Vyner, afterwards Lord Mayor, to replace the old Regalia by others, "which should retayne the old name and fashion." Twenty-four years later the coronation of James II. and Mary of Modena necessitated the further addition of the Regalia peculiar to a Queen Consort, while, according to a bill dated February 23, 1685, and recently discovered in the Exchequer Records, the remainder of the ornaments also were considerably beautified and embellished. At the unique coronation of William and Mary in 1689, a second orb and sceptre were added, resembling those of the King, the Queen being crowned together with him, not as consort, but as joint sovereign.

The Regalia, as now exhibited in the Tower, are substantially identical with the ornaments used at the last-named coronation, having experienced but trifling modifications since the seventeenth century. The main exception is the state crown of King Edward, which will probably arouse the chief interest. It is a magnificent diadem containing 277 pearls, 2785 diamonds, 5 rubies, 17 sapphires, and 11 emeralds. Among them are found a sapphire, taken from the famous ring of the Confessor (supposed to give its owner the power of blessing cramp-rings), which was recut for Charles II. in the form of a rose ; a sapphire, bequeathed to George III. by Cardinal York, the last

descendant of James II.; and above all, "the fair ruby, great like a rocket ball," given to the Black Prince after the battle of Najara by Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, and worn on the helmet of Henry V. at Agincourt.

The crowns of state belonging to previous mon-

The Anointing Spoon and the Ampulla, or Golden Eagle, 101 containing the Consecrated Oil

archs have long since been broken up, but the upper portion of that used by George IV. still remains, a mound made of "one entire stone of sea-water green colour, known as an agmarine."

S. Edward's crown is of simpler construction, but the fleurs-de-lys and cross-patées surrounding the rim are enriched in every direction by rows of pearls and rosettes of precious stones. The arches which

rise from the rim are similarly adorned, while the cross-patée at the summit is surrounded with huge drop pearls. With this crown the actual deed of coronation used to be performed.

The sceptres are five in number, the most noticeable being the King's sceptre with the cross, the handle of which is wreathed with a mass of blazing gems and sprays of gold, while the top consists of an enormous amethyst orb, faceted all over with gold and diamonds, together with a thickly jewelled arched crown : and secondly, the large gold sceptre with the dove, made presumably for Mary II., and subsequently hidden away at the back of a cupboard and forgotten till 1814!

One of the most interesting items among the Regalia is the Golden Eagle or Ampulla, which, together with the Spoon, is employed at the anointing. It is possible that these ornaments actually belonged to the original Regalia. They were regarded as possessing a special sanctity, and it has been suggested that the Abbey authorities may have succeeded in putting forth a special claim and then secreting them during the *débacle* of the seventeenth century. This view is distinctly expressed by Sandford, the historian of James II.'s coronation, while it is further borne out by the undoubted marks of antiquity in the body of the Eagle and on the handle of the Spoon.

Such are the chief items among the Regalia of to-day, although there still remain a vast number besides—the two orbs, the bracelets, S. George's spurs, the beautiful circlet of Mary of Modena, the silver state trumpets with their embroidered falls, the huge silver maces borne by the Sergeants

at-Arms before the King, together with the famous salt-cellars of Elizabeth and Charles II., and other ornaments used at coronation Banquets.

From the Restoration onward the Tower has been their unvarying home. Twice, however, has their existence been grievously imperilled. In 1671, an

The Courtyard of the Abbot's "Place," now the Deanery of Westminster Abbey, showing the entrance to the Jericho Parlour and Jerusalem Chamber, in which the Regalia are placed previous to the Coronation

Irish desperado—Colonel Blood—after wounding the custodian, escaped with the crown and orb as far as the Tower wharf. Fortunately his progress was arrested, and the Regalia were recovered without suffering any material damage. In 1841 a terrible fire broke out in the Bowyer Tower, adjoining S. Martin's Tower, at that time the Jewel House. The

The Jerusalem Chamber

Regalia were within an ace of complete destruction. Only by dint of the most hazardous exertions, their very clothes being charred in the attempt, did the authorities succeed in removing them to a place of safety in the Governor's house.

With the Abbey we commenced, with the Abbey let us conclude. The Confessor's Church has lost one of its chief glories, but thanks to the strength of tradition, the old connection still continues, although in a shadowy form. The Dean and Chapter are still recognised as curators, for the time being, of the national Regalia. To their care are they entrusted on the coronation eve. During that night they occupy the historic Jerusalem Chamber, whose very walls have witnessed the rise and fall of kings. From here, they were conveyed in solemn procession, on the coronation morning, through the Abbey to Westminster Hall, borne by Dean and Prebendaries and escorted by the entire collegiate body. At the conclusion of the stately service they are deposited beneath the Confessor's shrine, and once more entrusted to the keeping of their original guardians—the rulers of the great Abbey Church, so fittingly described, as "the Head and Crown and Diadem of the Kingdom."

II

THE SCOTCH REGALIA

ALTHOUGH the English Regalia infinitely surpass those of the Northern Kingdom, both in workmanship and in intrinsic value, yet the history of the latter has borne so remarkable and so romantic a character, that they deserve considerably more attention than a mere passing allusion.

The employment of a crown at the commencement of a new reign, is an early feature of sovereignty in Scotland, as in other nations. At the coronation of Malcolm Canmore, in 1057, the high privilege of conducting a new monarch to his royal seat was permanently annexed to the Earldom of Fife—a ceremony which plainly implies use of a crown. Some two and a half centuries later, Edward I. poured forth his fury upon the unhappy John Baliol. The distracted kingdom was stripped of every vestige of independent sovereignty. The unscrupulous

plunderers fell upon the sacred Stone and transported it, immediately to London; while the crown and such regal ornaments as at that time existed, were probably broken up. At any rate, they disappeared for ever.

When, however, the gallant Bruce had once more rallied the drooping spirits of his countrymen, he proceeded forthwith to reassert his country's rights. Like the ancient Scotch Kings who had gone before him, Bruce was inaugurated at Scone, in 1308, with as much solemnity as a maimed ceremonial would permit. In the absence of the Stone of Destiny, the new monarch had to content himself with the chair, of which it once in all probability formed a part—while a plain circlet of gold was substituted for the old time-honoured crown of Scotland, gone never to return. Six brief years passed away, and the positions were reversed. The victor of Bannockburn proceeded to impose his ruthless and triumphant terms upon the craven-spirited son of a mighty father. Yet, strange to say, during all the negotiations which then ensued between the Bruce and Edward II., not one single allusion is recorded to the crown. It can scarcely be doubted, therefore, but that the crown had been altered, or more probably still, destroyed, beyond all hope of recovery. Judging then by this fact, combined with the special character of its own ornamentation, we may reasonably assume that the present diadem of Scotland now to be viewed in the Crown-room of Edinburgh Castle, dates from the early fourteenth century. It was distinctly mentioned, for the first time, at the coronation of King David II. in 1329, and from that day forward it was employed

at the coronations of all the Scotch Kings in succession.

The sixteenth century, and more especially, the reign of King James V. witnessed a considerable development in the ornamentation of this crown, together with the addition of at least one important item to the Scotch Regalia. That monarch caused several new arches at the summit of the crown to be constructed, by foreign artificers, besides beautifying the whole with gold from the mine on Crawford Moor. His matrimonial connection with Mary of Guise and the reigning house of France, were probably instrumental in bringing about these changes. In 1543 his daughter, the hapless Mary Stuart, at the tender age of nine months, was taken from her cradle to the great church at Stirling, and there invested with her father's crown, whilst the sceptre was placed in her tiny hand, to the accompaniment of her own piteous wailing!

During the century which followed, both Charles I. and Charles II., despite the superior position conferred by their connection with English sovereignty, were compelled to undergo the ancient rites of the Scotch Kingdom at Scone, in 1633 and 1651 respectively; the strength of the political feeling displayed in the north, precluding all attempts to dispense with the national ceremony.

With the coronation of the former monarch, however, a fateful era commenced in the history of the Scotch Regalia. A few brief years, and Cromwell with his Ironsides were sweeping over the land like a scourge. Visions of Edward Plantagenet, or of some still more terrible "Hammer of the Scots," were filling all hearts with abject terror. And so, in

the hope of attaining some real safety for their national treasures, the authorities placed the Regalia in Dunottar Castle, an impregnable rock overhanging the waves of the North Sea. Here George Ogilvie of Barras, a gallant soldier, defended his almost sacred charge night and day, stoutly refusing to surrender them under any pretext whatsoever. But still, the threatened danger grew closer and closer at hand. Attempts were made to discover a more secure resting-place for the Regalia, by removing them to some inaccessible Highland fastness; but every effort collapsed in utter failure. At length, Lambert and his army sat down before Dunottar Castle, and the doom of the English Regalia seemed to be within an ace of repetition in the north. As has so frequently happened, however, female ingenuity proved equal to a perilous emergency, and the danger was averted. Three ladies shared the burden of this anxious secret—the Countess Dowager-Marischal, Lady Keith, with Mrs. Ogilvie and Christian Grainger, wives respectively of the Governor of the Castle and of a neighbouring parish priest. The crown, sword, and sceptre, were carefully concealed in bundles of lint, and conveyed, by means of this subterfuge, through the ranks of the blockading army to the little church of Kineff, four miles distant. Here Grainger and his wife carefully secreted them. Dunottar very shortly fell, but no severity could wring the secret from either of the Ogilvies; not even the sufferings and privations which ultimately cost the poor lady her life. A period of sickening suspense followed, but the astuteness of the Countess-Marischal once more stood her in good service. She succeeded in placing

the pursuers upon a wrong track, with the result that the Regalia remained in their hiding-place beneath the pavement of Kineff church, being guarded with loving care by the Graingers, husband and wife, until, with the advent of the Restoration, happier days dawned upon the land.

The Act for the Union of England and Scotland, which came into force in 1707, heralded a series of fresh incidents, almost equally exciting in the history of the Scotch Regalia. The anti-English party, borne along by the wave of popular feeling, succeeded in carrying a supplementary clause to the Treaty, which enacted that "the Crown, Sceptres, and Sword of State, records of Parliament, &c., continue to be kept as they are in that part of the United Kingdom now called Scotland, and that they shall so remain in all time coming, notwithstanding of the Union." This was a point gained, which, however, the English Government met with a counter-move. The danger of exposing to public view these treasures, so venerable and so beloved, symbolising, as they did, all that was opposed to English rule and influence, was sufficiently obvious. Accordingly, the authorities determined to erase them out of sight and out of mind. On March 27, 1707, the Commissioners of the Treasury took over the possession of the Regalia, to the indignation of the Earl Marischal, who declined to degrade either himself or his office, by being present at a ceremony, in his eyes, so full of humiliation. The Regalia were henceforth lodged in the Crown room of Edinburgh Castle and hidden away in an iron chest. Many a long day was destined to elapse ere mortal eye gazed upon them once more!

The years rolled on. A new generation arose which had never yet beheld these ancient emblems of Scotch kingship. Legends sprang up. A curious halo of mystery began to envelop the Regalia, till at length the impression spread abroad, that, entirely contrary to the promise contained in the Act of Union, they had been removed by stealth to London. Once and only once during the space of upwards of a century had the Crown room been opened, and then no attempt was made to investigate the contents of the iron chest, in which presumably the Regalia were reposing. At length, with the year 1818, the Prince Regent, who had taken the deepest interest in the whole subject, determined to solve the problem for good and all. The century which had just passed away had exercised a mollifying influence, and had succeeded in soothing the passions and discords which accompanied the Act of Union. All apprehension as to possible political trouble was at an end. Accordingly, a Commission was appointed, prominent amongst whom was Sir Walter Scott. The duty was entrusted to them of conducting the necessary investigations. The iron chest was wrenched open—and then, amid a scene of the most intense excitement, the light of day fell once more upon these ancient "honours" of Scotland, while the royal standard was hoisted upon the castle tower, amid the mingled tears and plaudits of a delighted people. There they lay—crown, sceptre and sword —the marks of time being scarcely apparent. The handle and scabbard of the sword of state, it is true, were somewhat broken, and the head of the sceptre, had been slightly bent. It is interesting to notice, however, that these very disfigurements were dis-

tinctly mentioned in an Act of the Privy Council, dated so far back as July 10, 1621, when an official examination of the Regalia had taken place.

The Regalia were at once placed in a public position, and an authorised body of custodians was constituted. From that date onwards their history has been almost wholly uneventful; indeed, one event only stands out with any prominence. This took place in the year 1830, when, by order of William IV., several highly interesting items were added to the collection, in the shape of the bequest made a few years previously to George IV., by Henry Cardinal York, the last descendant of James II.

Not only are the Scotch Regalia inferior in beauty, they are also fewer in number than those for which we ourselves feel so deep a reverence and affection. On the other hand, quite apart from their stirring history, they possess certain points of interest which we cannot but envy. The crown is especially remarkable, displaying as it does the combination of both Scotch and French workmanship. It consists of two circles, the lower adorned with Oriental pearls and precious stones, the upper with alternate sapphires and diamonds. This upper circle develops into ten cross-florées intermingled with fleurs-de-lys, and having for their respective centres a large diamond surrounded by four pearls. Above, rise the arches, and the cross-patée added by James V., which exhibit a marked difference in character to the rougher work of the Scotch goldsmiths. These arches are adorned with enamelled figures, while the centre of the cross-patée consists of an amethyst, together with a large pearl, beneath which are the initials I.R.V. The sceptre—a silver-gilt rod,

surmounted by a capital of embossed leaves, supporting figures of Our Lady, S. Andrew, and S. John—bears the same initials. The scabbard of the sword of state is composed of crimson velvet, exquisitely adorned with filagree work and silver. The main subject of the ornamentation consists of oak leaves and acorns, the emblem of Pope Julius II. The title of that military pontiff is also indented in golden letters upon the blade; this sword of state having been presented by him to King James IV.

Second only to the crown, however, in general interest is the coronation ring of Scotland. For many centuries past, in England, the ring has always been treated as being the personal property of each individual Sovereign, and is newly manufactured at the beginning of each reign. Ths Scotch ring exhibits a very remarkable difference, in that it must have been clearly intended to fit fingers of varying sizes. It is composed of a pale ruby, backed with red foil, engraved on which is a couped cross, enclosed in a circle of twenty-six table diamonds. It possesses a joint, resembling that of a bracelet, together with a long spring connected with the snap. Thus, it may be accurately described as the only ring in existence which is the actual property of the nation.

The traditional history of the Scotch ring is of the most tragic, not to say melancholy, character. It is supposed that this was the favourite ring of Mary Stuart, and that, after her judicial murder in Fotheringay Castle, it was transmitted to her son. From James it descended to Charles I. at whose coronation at Scone in 1633 it played a distinct part. A second time did this ill-fated ring figure at an untimely and ill-merited death; for, with almost his last breath

(From a photograph by A. A. Inglis, Edinburgh)

The Scotch Regalia

upon the scaffold at Whitehall, Charles bequeathed it to Bishop Juxon, in trust for his son. In due course of time the ring came into the possession of James II., and was carried away with him on his flight to the Continent. When, however, he was detained by the fishermen at Sheerness, the ring, which had been secreted in the King's underclothing, only escaped robbery, thanks to the luckiest of mistakes, on the part of the sailor who searched him. Thus, the ring was passed on uninjured to James' descendants, till, by the bequest of Cardinal York, it became the property of the reigning dynasty once more, and was by them replaced among the royal jewels of Scotland, from which it had been separated for many a long year.

We can hardly conclude this brief account of the Scotch Regalia better than by quoting a touching story, related by Frances Ann Kemble in the "Record of a Girlhood." "Sir Walter Scott told me," she writes, "that when the Scottish Regalia was discovered in its obscure place of security in Edinburgh Castle, pending the decision of Government as to its ultimate destination, a committee of gentlemen were appointed its guardians among whom he was one, and that he received a most urgent entreaty from an old lady of the Maxwell family to be permitted to see it. She was nearly ninety years old and feared she might not live till the Crown Jewels of Scotland were permitted to become objects of public exhibition, and pressed Sir Walter Scott with importunate prayers to allow her to see them before she died. Sir Walter's good sense and good nature alike induced him to take upon himself to grant the poor lady's petition, and he conducted her into the

presence of these relics of her country's independent sovereignty, when he said, tottering hastily forward from his support, she fell on her knees before the crown, and clasping and wringing her wrinkled hands, wailed over it as a mother over her dead child. His description of the scene was infinitely pathetic and it must have appealed to all his own poetical and imaginative sympathy with the former glories of his native land."

III

THE CORONATION CHAIR

THE veneration paid to stones of a particular form or in some particular situation is an early and remarkable phenomenon of history. Even the "Bethulia" or meteor stones which fell from heaven became in course of time definite objects of reverence—a reverence which soon crystallised into worship. Hence, the stone was frequently employed as a metaphor, not merely for strength, solidity, and permanence, but also for sanctity and even divinity. It is scarcely surprising, then, that these semi-sacred stones should have come, in due course, to be distinctly associated with the ceremonial inauguration of a new monarch. Indeed, the consecrated character attaching to kingship, together with the union of pontifical as well as regal ideas in the person of the Sovereign, rendered such development both natural and inevitable. For many centuries it was an invariable custom

of the Teutonic tribesmen, to place their newly elected king upon a shield, and carry him about on their shoulders. Over and over again is our attention arrested by allusions to this singular practice of "elevation," from the time of Tacitus onwards, and ere long the practice of northern nations found its way into all parts of Europe. It was reserved, however, for the Scandinavian kingdoms, together with our own British Isles, to furnish a singular elaboration of this custom—the creation, namely, of their monarchs, by placing them upon a specially elevated stone—the Royal Seat—which was itself encircled by stones of inferior size occupied by the leading nobility of the land. The ducal stone of Carinthia; the Mora stone at Upsala on which the kings of Sweden were enthroned; the great circle of enormous stones within which the kings of Denmark received their inauguration, and last but not least, the celebrated "Königsstühl," or "King's Seat," at the junction of the Rhine and the Lahn, one and all bear witness to this prevailing tendency. At the election of an Irish chieftain, such as the King of Tyrconnel, he was usually placed upon some particular stone bearing the impress of his earliest predecessor's foot. Here the oath of obedience to his country's customs was duly proffered, and a white wand presented, after which the new king descended from the stone and "turned himself round thrice and thrice, backward." Two such stones yet remain—that of the kings of Ulster near Derry, and the McMahon stone at Monaghan, on which the impression of the foot could be detected as recently as last century. Once more, at Kingston-on-Thames, there may still be seen an ancient stone which,

(W. F. Allvey, Esq., photo)

The Coronation Stone, at Kingston-on-Thames

judging by its geological similarity to the Stonehenge cluster, must have descended from Druidical ages. Upon this, the "King's Stone," some seven or more Anglo-Saxon monarchs, from Athelstan down to Edmond Ironside, were duly enthroned. After experiencing not a few subsequent vicissitudes, this celebrated relic of a distant past has found a secure and appropriate resting-place, on the traditional site of the ancient Saxon palace, in the market square of this "Royal Borough."

The glories, however, of these historical remains fade into insignificance when contrasted with the remarkable story of the "Lia-Fail," or Stone of Destiny, the fortunes of which have been so closely intertwined with the story of both Scotch and English kingship. "Let not the gentle reader be amazed at the travels of our marble seat. In the metrical chronicle of Robert of Gloucester we may read how the many pillars of Stonehenge were conveyed, not only from Ireland to their present site, but from the farthest parts of Africa to the hill of Kildare." On this time-honoured fragment, so runs the legend, did the patriarch's head rest while he beheld the vision of the angels ascending and descending from heaven. From the plain of Luz it was transported, under the care of Jacob's descendants, to Egypt; but its stay there was of comparatively short duration, for Gathelus, the son of Cecrops, the builder of Athens, fled, together with his Egyptian wife and the "Lia-Fail," already regarded with almost reverential awe, to Brigantia in Spain. Here "he sat upon his marble stone, gave laws, and ministered justice unto his people." At this period, then, the royal aspect of the stone first emerges into

light. From Spain it was conveyed by one Simon Brech to the hill of Tara, some seven hundred years before Christ. Here, each of the Irish kings was inaugurated in turn, and "he only," writes Sir James Ware, "was confirmed Monarch of Ireland, under whom, being placed on it, this stone groaned or spoke according to the Book of Hoath." Still further northward was the "Lia-Fail" destined to travel, for Fergus, first of the name, bore it across the seas to his own Scotland, and laid it in the vaults of the Royal Castle of Dunstaffnage. For many centuries was it suffered to remain in peace; indeed, the hole in the castle wall which once contained it may still be viewed. In A.D. 840, however, King Kenneth II. established it within the precincts of the monastery of Scone, "because that the last battle with the Picts was there fought." Here it was encased in a chair, constructed of either wood or stone, and placed hard by the Mount of Belief, still traceable to-day.

Such is the brief epitome of the extraordinary vicissitudes which tradition has assigned to this wonderful stone. One legend, however, has as yet been unnoticed, which deduces the "Lia-Fail" from a source equally remarkable, if less remote. It was on this stone, so runs the second story, upon which rested in his death agony the head of the great S. Columba—the minister of the first Christian coronation of the West, that of Aidan, the Scottish Chief.

Whatever truth may reside in all this complicated mass of tradition, one thing is very clear: The Stone of Destiny, having apparently reached its final resting-place in the Abbey of Scone, became the "Sedes principalis" of the Scottish nation, and the

neighbouring city of Perth, for a time, assumed superiority over Edinburgh as the national capital.

Four and a half centuries passed away, during which period the Scottish kings down to the unfortunate John Baliol ascended in turn to this venerable seat on their coronation day, and were there solemnly inaugurated as chief rulers of the land by the Earls of Fife. Year by year did the halo of mystery deepen which surrounded the stone. Its very existence appeared to be permanently united with that of the northern kingdom. Even the voice of prophecy was not wanting to confirm this belief, for, attached in some manner to the stone by order of King Kenneth, there was a remarkable distich, of which the following is a modernised version :—

"Unless the fixed decrees of Fate give way,
The Scots shall govern and the sceptre sway
Where'er this stone they find and its dread sound obey."

Meanwhile, the Kingston stone lapsed into obscurity. Neither the Danish kings nor the Confessor apparently valued the sanctity which such enthronement as that received by their predecessors might bestow. With the advent of the Norman rule, however, the whole trend both of policy and sentiment was at once directed toward the last representative of the old Saxon line of Cerdic. It was upon the memorial slab of his sainted predecessor that the Conqueror stood on that fatal Christmas Day, when he was solemnly invested with the crown of Alfred and Edward, and swore to maintain the laws of the ever "glorious Confessor," amid the cries and lamentations of his new subjects.

A brief period only elapsed ere the Confessor's Abbey came to assume a mighty pre-eminence, as the scene

of coronation splendour—the birthplace, so to speak, of English royalty. Such claims as Winchester or Kingston might have urged had long since vanished. Still for upwards of two centuries, this great Church and the coronation ceremony which was its chief pride, lacked the element of mystery belonging, at one time or another, to both the neighbouring kingdoms, in their possession of a consecrated stone. This is the more remarkable, seeing that from an early date the great Hall of the adjoining palace had contained in the King's Bench an almost analogous institution. "At the upper end of this hall," writes Stowe; "there is a large marble stone of twelve feet in length and three feet in breadth, where the kings of England formerly sate at their coronation dinners, and at other solemn times the Lord Chancellor, but not now to be seen, being built over by the two Courts of Chancery and the King's Bench." The Liber Regalis, too, which contains a detailed account of the various rites to be observed at a mediæval coronation ordained that the Sovereign be "carefully and reverently elevated to this lofty throne."

The love borne by "the greatest of the Plantagenets" to the Abbey almost equalled that of his less distinguished namesake. Twenty years and more of his reign had witnessed the further development of his father's Church, both in size and beauty. Five lovely bays and three no less splendid tombs bore witness to his love and munificence. The Confessor's Chapel he had already enriched with a fragment of the true Cross; while the Coronet of Llewellyn, last and most heroic of the Welsh princes, had been hung up before the shrine by Edward's little son, Alfonso. The King now resolved to deposit in

the same sacred spot the mark of dominion over a hated rival. And so, in the August of 1298, to the grief and consternation ot the Scots, their sacred treasure, the "Fatal Marmor," was removed from the custody of the monks who for centuries had watched it with such jealous care, and "on the morrow of S. Botolph" was solemnly presented, as the pledge and symbol of conquest.

Adam, "the king's workman," was forthwith requisitioned to fashion a chair of bronze, but subsequently Master Walter, the painter, was selected in his place to carry out a similar design in oak. The progress of the work may be traced in the Wardrobe accounts for the last year of Edward's reign. The actual chair cost one hundred shillings. The carving, painting, and gilding of two small leopards in wood 13*s.* 4*d.*, while lastly there was the sum of £1 19*s.* 7*d.* paid to Master Walter for "making a step at the foot of the new chair in which the Scottish stone is placed, near the altar, before the shrine of S. Edward, and for the wages of the carpenters, and of the painters, and for colours and gold employed, also for the making of a covering to cover the said chair."

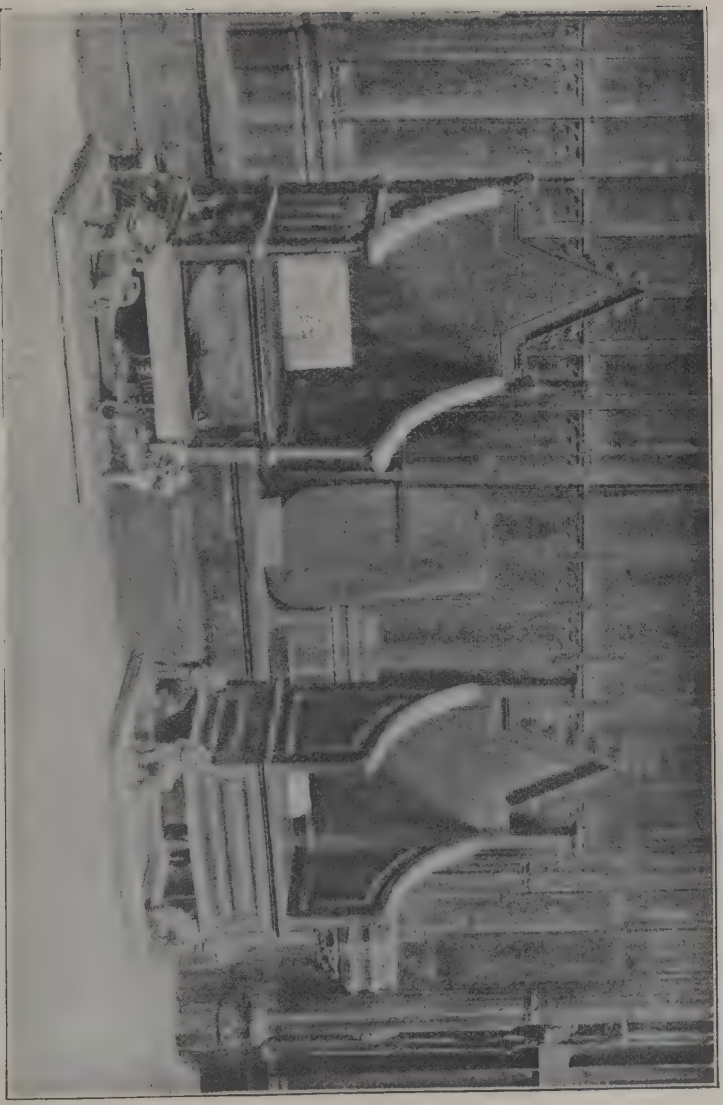
Even in its present battered and age-worn condition the Coronation Chair is a magnificent object; and when its beauty was still unsullied by time or irreverence (witness the crowds of vulgar persons who have selected this medium for recording their worthless existences!) it must have been a wonderful testimony to Master Walter's skill.

The patience which must have been employed over the work is truly amazing. The oaken surface of the chair was first covered with a sort of gesso, to which gold was then applied by means of

white of egg, and afterwards burnished. Finally, a pattern was traced, every line of which was composed of diminutive dots. The design may still be detected with the aid of powerful artificial light. It consists on the right-hand side of oak leaves, the sprays of which are surmounted by redbreasts and falcons, while on the left is a diaper of compound quatrefoils enclosing a variety of subjects. The decoration at the back of the chair, which probably represents the seated figure of a king, is all but indistinguishable.

Immediately beneath the seat lies the Stone of Destiny itself, resting on a middle frame some nine inches from the ground, and supported by four crouching lions of modern construction. Originally, it was entirely surrounded by four rows of beautiful tracery comprising ten emblazoned quatrefoils. Four only, however, of these remain, while the tracery has to a large extent disappeared also.

The stone itself is oblong in shape. One corner is inscribed with a cross. At each end it is pierced by an iron ring, dating apparently from the early fourteenth century. Possibly, during its journey from Scone to London it was slung, by means of these rings, between two horses. On its upper surface there is to be seen a rectangular groove, which may conceivably have contained a metal plate, inscribed with the distich already quoted. The stone is composed of sandy granular material, bluish in colour, and veined with red. It consists mainly of quartz together with an intermixture of light and reddish coloured felspar, light and dark mica, together with dark green hornblende,



(Stephen Cribb, photo, London)

and some fragments of reddish grey clay slate. More than one writer has endeavoured to trace its Irish or Egyptian or Palestinian origin, but Professor Ramsay, in his Geological Account of the Coronation Stone, professes his extreme scepticism as to the truth of these theories, and maintains that the remarkable resemblance of the stone to that composing the doorway of Dunstaffnage Castle points to their common origin from the quarries of that neighbourhood.

The "Lia-Fail" had now reached the furthermost point of its wanderings. "This fragment of the world-old Keltic races was embedded in the new Plantagenet oak—an unconscious prophecy of the future blending of the two kingdoms into one harmonious whole." The chair was placed hard by the Confessor's shrine, and, as the existing altar screen did not make its appearance until a later age, it must have been visible over the greater portion of the Abbey Church, bearing in this position a close analogy to the metro-political chair which is preserved in "Becket's Crown" at the eastern end of Canterbury Cathedral. Here, if the account given by a piece of ancient doggerel and confirmed by Walsingham be correct, the chair was for a time used as a seat for the chief officiating priest at the altar of S. Edward :—

> "He sent it forth to Westminster for aye,
> To be there in a chair cleanly wrought,
> For a mass priest to sit in when he ought."

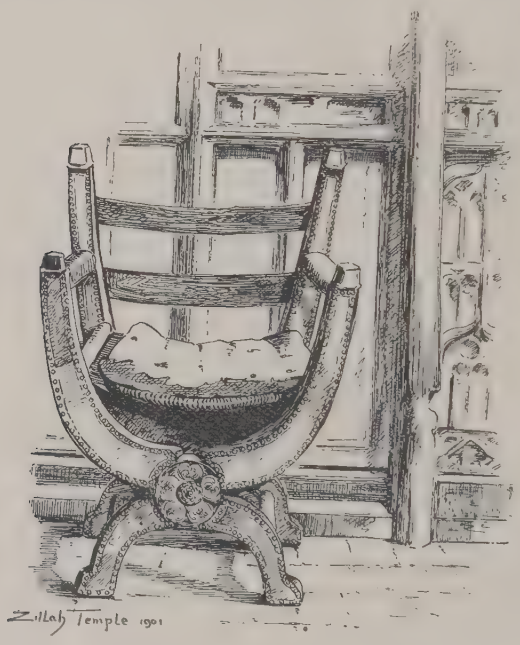
Thus, the new *cathedra* or throne at once supplied an element of dignity hitherto lacking in the Abbey, though possessed already by more than one great English Minster. Ere long it came to be represented

on the coinage; indeed, the leopards of England have actually originated from their position as the supporters of the chair; so speedily did it come to assume a prominent place in our national life.

The grief and fury of the Scots may be gauged from the value set upon the stone by its new possessors. Desperate attempts did they make to regain their lost treasure, without enthronement upon which no king could acquire the sanctity possesssed by the long line of his predecessors. In the Treaty of Northampton (1328) which closed this weariest of wars, the restoration of their possessions was distinctly stipulated. King Edward III. was true to his promise, and by means of a writ under the Privy Seal, he proceeded to intimate his desire to the Abbot and monks of Westminster. The remaining portion of the treaty was loyally fulfilled, but, to quote the chronicle of Lanercost—"the stone of Scone the people of London would by no means allow to depart from themselves." Thirty years later the childless David II. entered into negotiations with Edward III., which had for their object the succession of an English prince to the throne of Scotland: in which case the new monarch was to undergo the time-honoured inauguration at Scone upon the ancient seat, subsequently to his coronation in England. Nothing definite, however, resulted, and the stone remained with its foreign owners until, with the accession of James I. in 1603 the ancient prophecy once inscribed upon its surface received fulfilment to the very letter.

In the Abbey, then, does this venerable fragment, the "Regale Scotiæ," still remain. From Henry IV. onwards the "Royal Chair" or "King Edward's

Chair" is distinctly specified at coronation after coronation, while there can be no reasonable doubt but that his three immediate predecessors also experienced the same solemn enthronement. Out of all the monarchs who have sat upon the throne of England, there



Queen Mary's Chair at Winchester

are but three exceptions at the most. Queen Mary I. entertained a superstitious dread lest any semblance of pollution might ensue from contact with the chair once occupied by her Protestant-minded brother, Edward VI. Hence, although "S. Edward's Chair" is actually mentioned in the record of her coronation, a second chair, still preserved in

Bishop Langton's Chantry in Winchester Cathedral, was procured for her use, after being duly hallowed by a Papal benediction. Queen Mary's chair has suffered greatly from the ravages made by time, but it must originally have been a splendid piece of workmanship. It is composed of wood covered with purple velvet and adorned with gilded nails, while the symbol I.H.S. is embossed in a circular brass plate on the arm of the chair. Whether it was actually employed at her coronation or no may be open to question; but there can be no reasonable doubt that this chair figured at the splendid ceremony of her marriage with Philip of Spain at Winchester.

Even the prosaic and unsentimental mind of Oliver Cromwell was overawed by the vast mass of mystery and tradition, of reverence and history which surrounds the "Lia-Fail." At his own inauguration in Westminster Hall as Lord High Protector of the realm, the Coronation Chair was for the first and last time, during upwards of six centuries, removed from its time-honoured resting-place at the foot of the Confessor's shrine.

The accession of two regnant Sovereigns in the persons of William III. and Mary II. in 1689 brought about further developments. Their joint coronation necessitated considerable additions to the ceremonial in the Abbey. Accordingly, a second chair was constructed, similar in shape though somewhat smaller and much inferior in decoration to "King Edward's Chair." In this new chair, then, Mary II. duly received the sacred unction and was invested with the crown of Queen Edith. The chair itself, though it has never subsequently been employed, is still preserved in Westminster Abbey. It stands

at the extreme end of the Chapel of King Henry VII.

We can scarcely do better than conclude with the eloquent words of Dean Stanley once more. "The coronation stone," he says, "is the one primeval monument which binds together the whole Empire. The iron rings, the battered surface, the crack which has all but rent its solid mass asunder, bear witness to its long migrations. It is thus embedded in the heart of the English monarchy—an element of poetic patriarchal heathen times which, like Araunah's rocky threshing-floor in the midst of the temple of Solomon, carries back our thoughts to races and customs now almost extinct; a link which unites the throne of England to the traditions of Tara and Iona, and connects the charm of our complex civilisation with the forces of our mother-earth—the stocks and stones of savage nature."

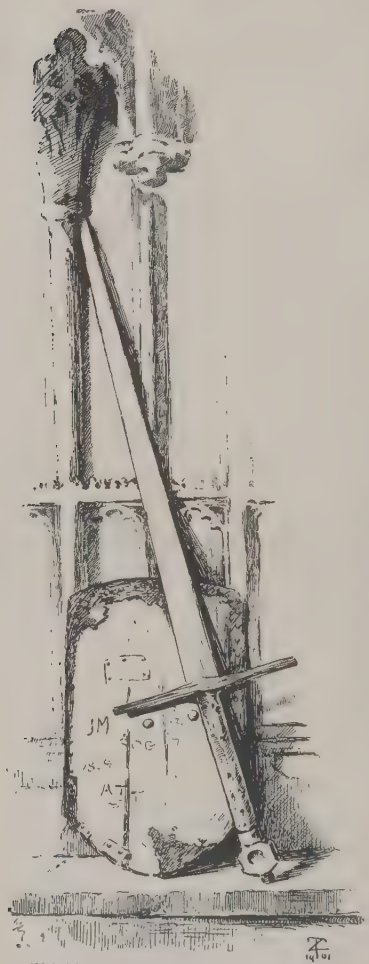
IV

THE CORONATION VESTMENTS

THE National Regalia having been described in their order, it now becomes necessary to give our attention to various regal ornaments of a more strictly personal character, such as, the coronation vestments, the sword of state, and the ring. At one period, indeed, it would seem that all these insignia were classed in the same category as the crown and sceptre and the remainder of the "honours" of the Kingdom of England. In the catalogue of the Westminster Monk, Sporley, it appears that quite a large number of important and costly royal robes were, during the fifteenth century, housed in Westminster Abbey just like the above, and guarded with the same scrupulous fidelity. Sporley's catalogue runs as follows :

S. Edward, King and Confessor, for the memory of those who should come after, and for the dignity of the Royal Coronation, laid down that all the royal ornaments with which he

himself had been crowned should be preserved in this Church, viz., The tunic, super-tunic, stole, girdle, embroidered pall, a pair of buskins, a pair of gloves, a golden sceptre, one rod of wood gilded and a second one of iron.



Shield and Sword of State used at Edward III.'s Coronation, now preserved in the Confessor's Chapel in Westminster Abbey

Likewise, a magnificent golden crown, a golden comb and a spoon.

Likewise, for the Coronation of the Queen a crown and two rods.

Likewise, for the Coronation of the Lord King, one Chalice of onyx stone, with a foot and joints, and a Paten of purest gold, all of which articles are held to be precious relics.

The Lord Laurentius, sometime Abbot of this place, ordered three embroidered copes to be made out of the three robes in which the above mentioned Saint rested in his tomb, but the ring of the said Saint, which once upon a time he had delivered to S. John the Evangelist, who restored it himself from Paradise, after the space of two and a half years, he afterwards removed from the King's finger, on the night of his translation, and gave orders that it should be guarded in that place as a relic.

Even after the lapse of two more centuries

S. Edward bestowing the ring on a beggar

certain robes continued to be preserved in the ancient Treasury of the Abbey, though whether they were actually employed at successive coronations, or were simply retained as interesting historical treasures, it is impossible to say. The concluding portion of the Inventory compiled in 1649, the bulk of which has already been quoted, makes mention of several articles which must have been possessed of surpassing interest, although their material value in the eyes of the Parliamentary Commissioners seems to have been but diminutive :—

AN INVENTORY OF THE REGALIA NOW IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, IN AN IRON CHEST WHERE THEY WERE FORMERLY KEPT.

	s.	d.
One Crimson taffaty robe, very old, valued at .	10	0
One robe, laced with gould lace, valued at . .	10	0
One livor cullered silke robe, very old, and worth nothing.		
One robe of crimson taffaty sarcenett, val. at .	5	0
One paire of buskins, cloth of silver and silver stockings, very old and valued at . . .	2	6
One paire of shoes of cloth of gould, at . . .	2	0
One paire of gloves embrodrd with gould, at . .	1	0
One old combe of horne, worth nothing.		

The three royal swords have already received our attention ; but no mention has as yet been made of a fourth and still more interesting weapon—the Sword of State. Like the coronation ring, it does not figure among the Regalia, technically speaking, at all. It is regarded as being the private property of each individual Sovereign. During the coronation ceremony, the Sovereign is girded with this Sword of State by the Lord Great Chamberlain, while subsequently it is offered at the altar, and immediately redeemed, for the sum of one hundred shillings. The Sword of State is much richer in appearance

than either of its three companions. It is contained in a scabbard of crimson velvet, which is itself adorned with plates of gold, engraven with rose, thistle, portcullis, and the royal arms.

The practice of using a ring to denote lofty rank extends back to the remotest antiquity. Like so many other items of the numerous coronation accessories and paraphernalia, the royal ring, in the history of our own country, is closely associated with Edward the Confessor. Of all the legends which have clustered round his almost sacred person, that of the ring is perhaps the most touching and picturesque ; indeed, it is perpetuated, both in stone and in glass, within the walls of his own Abbey. According to this story, the King, while journeying to the dedication of the Chapel of S. John the Evangelist was one day accosted by "a fayre old man" who demanded an alms for the love of S. John. The

S. John giving the ring bestowed on the beggar to two pilgrims, to be restored to Edward

King forthwith drew from his finger a ring, "large, royal, and beautiful." Some time afterwards, two

The Pilgrims returning with the ring to S. Edward

pilgrims from Ludlow, while journeying in the Holy Land, found themselves benighted and hopelessly lost. Suddenly, the path was lighted up, and there came to them a "fayre ancient man wyth whyte heer for age. Thenne the olde man axed theym what they were and of what regyon. And they answerde that they were pylgrims of England, and hadde lost theyr fellyshyp and way also. Thenne thys olde man comforted theym goodly, and brought theym into a fayre cytee; and whaune they had refreshed theym, and rested there alle nyghte, on the morne this fayre olde man went with theym, and brought theym in the ryghte waye agayne. And he was gladded to here theym talke of the welfare and holynesse of theyre Kynge Saynt Edward. And

whaune he sholde departe fro theym, thenne he tolde theym what he was, and sayd, 'I am JOHAN THE EVANGELYST; and saye ye vnto Edward your Kyng, that I grete him well by the token that he gaff to me thys rynge with his owne handes, whych rynge ye shalle delyver to hym agayne'; and whaun he had delyvered to them the rynge, he departed fro theym sodenly."

The ring was duly delivered to the King at his palace in Essex, the name of which, "Havering atte Bower," is said to have been derived from this incident. It was buried with the King after his death, and remained undisturbed until the first translation of his remains, in 1163, which took place in the presence of Archbishop Beket and Abbot Laurentius. The ring, as Sporley relates, was reverently removed by the latter ecclesiastic, and henceforward preserved in the Abbey as a relic. Tradition has it that the Confessor's ring became thenceforth "the wedding-ring of England," and in this capacity was employed at the ceremony of the coronation. So great, in fact, was the "Edwardian passion," that it would be extremely difficult to controvert the statement that for a time, at any rate, the coronation ring was the identical jewel which had lain for well nigh a century in the dead king's sarcophagus, whatever may be our own doubts as to the previous portion of its supposed history.

Down to the time of the Restoration, such records as we possess imply apparently that each successive monarch was invested with the ring worn by his predecessor. According to certain letters and patents still contained in the muniment room of Westminster Abbey, Richard II. in 1388, bequeathed a ruby ring

for the use of his successors at their respective coronations. In the "Device" for the coronation of Henry VII., the language used points to the fact that "the key ring with a ruby, called the Regall," had long been in existence, and was well known to all. More than a century later we find an interesting document, drawn up by Sir William Segar, Garter King-at-Arms, in view of the approaching coronation of James I. It consists of a list of necessaries to be provided by the Master of the Jewel House, and among the various "regalles" at that moment in the custody of this officer, "the King's ringe" is distinctly specified. From Charles II. onward, however, the ring has been manufactured afresh for each coronation, and has always been regarded as the Sovereign's own personal property.

The ring is made of gold, and contains a large table ruby engraven with S. George's cross, that for the Queen being set in a somewhat similar fashion. It is placed upon the *fourth* or wedding finger "as a sign of kingly dignity and the defence of the Catholic faith." A curious mistake occurred at the last coronation. The Heralds' College, strangely ignorant of the fact that in the pre-Reformation Service books, the thumb was counted as the first finger, caused the ring to be made for the Queen's fifth or little finger. Archbishop Howley, with superior knowledge to that possessed by these lay functionaries, proceeded to place the ring upon the accustomed finger, the third, as we term it to-day. Unfortunately great pain was caused to the royal sufferer. The ring was only removed with considerable difficulty and had it not been for the presence of mind displayed by one of the Prebendaries of the

Supertunica of Cloth of Gold —
Surcoat of Crimson Satin — showing 5 openings for the Armlings
The Colobium Sindonis —
The Spurs —
The Army

Coronation Vestments.

Abbey, our late beloved Sovereign would probably have experienced serious injury.

The numerous garments worn by the Sovereign now demand our attention. This will probably be the most convenient point at which to quote the list of robes which the Commissioners of the Great Wardrobe were ordered to prepare in view of James II's. coronation. It is true that a certain number of the said robes possess no special historical or symbolical interest; still, being the most complete account at our disposal, this inventory of the royal robes deserves quoting in some detail :—

Thursday, 19th of March 1684.

The Provisions for His Majesties Coronation having been agreed upon by His Majesty in Council and the Lord Treasurer having received an Account thereof, did this Day send unto the Commissioners of the Great Wardrobe a List of what Things were to be provided by them, in Order thereunto; to wit, the Ornaments called St. Edward's, wherein the KING was to be Crowned, together with the other Particulars following:

The Colobium Sindonis of Fine Linnen or Sarcenet, in Fashion of a Surplice, without Sleeves.

The Supertunica, a close Coat of Cloth of Gold, reaching to the Heels, lined with Crimson Taffata, and girt with a broad Girdle of Cloth of Gold to be put over the Colobium.

The Armilla, in Fashion of a Stole, made of Cloth of Gold, to be put about the King's neck, and fastened above and beneath the elbows, with silk ribbands.

A pall of Cloth of Gold in Fashion of a Cope.

A pair of Hose, or Buskins, of Cloth of Gold.

A pair of Sandals of Cloth of Gold.

All these to be laid ready upon the Altar in the Choir.

Also a Shirt of Fine Linnen, to be opened in the places for the Anointing.

Another Shirt of red Sarcenet over it.

Over that a Surcoat of Crimson Sattin, made with a Collar for a Band, both opened for the Anointing and closed with ribbands.

A pair of under Trowses, and Breeches over them, with stockings fastened to the Trowses, all of Crimson Silk.

A pair of Linnen Gloves.

A Linnen Coif.

Moreover the said 19 Day of March, the Lord Treasurer sent to the Countess of Peterborough, First Lady of the Bed-Chamber, as Grome of the Stole to the QUEEN, a Note of what her Ladyship was (by Order of Council) to provide for Her Majesty against the Coronation, viz:

A surcoat or Kirtle of Purple Velvet, the Sleeves turned up Furred and Powdered with Ermine.

A robe or Mantle of Purple Velvet with a long Train the Cape and Lining Powdered with Ermine, to be worn over the Surcoat.

Lastly, the said 19 of March, the Lord Treasurer sent unto Arthur Herbert Esquire, Master of the Robes to His Majesty, a List of Things which (by Order of Council) he was to provide against the Coronation, viz,

A Surcoat of Crimson Velvet.

A large Mantle of Crimson Velvet, with a Hood suitable, Furred with Ermine, and bordered with Rich Gold Lace.

A Cap of State of Crimson Velvet, turn'd up with Ermine.

These are called, Parliament Robes, and were, to be put on in the Prince's Lodgings, the Day of His Majestie's Coronation, before He came down into the Hall.

Also the Robes of Estate of Purple Velvet, of the same Fashion as the former, which, with the Imperial Crown, were the Day before the Coronation to be delivered to the Lord High Chamberlain, and laid upon St. Edward's Altar at the Head of his Shrine.

Also two Caps of Purple Velvet for the Two Crowns, turn'd up with Ermine.

It has been the privilege of the Lord Great Chamberlain to carry to the King his shirt and clothes on the morning of the coronation, and with

the Lord Chamberlain of the Household to dress the King. The shirt and surcoat were specially manufactured with a view to the ceremony of the unction, being fastened together at certain places by means of coloured ribbon which could be easily untied. Over these were placed the magnificent crimson Parliament robes, as already described in the above inventory. Thus attired, the King departed from his lodgings, and made his way to the Great Hall of William Rufus. Here he was duly greeted by the great officers of state, the Peers, Peeresses, and others, whose hereditary right it was to assemble here, and to take part in the subsequent Procession to the Abbey Church. Meanwhile, the Queen-Consort had been duly arrayed in her own royal robes of purple velvet, richly furred with ermine, and bordered with gold lace, while on her head she wore a beautiful golden circlet. The attire of the Queen-Consort remains unchanged throughout the whole solemnity of the coronation, save that the golden circlet is, at the appointed moment, exchanged for Queen Edith's crown, and that diadem in its turn, at the conclusion of the service, for the crown of state.

The Parliament Robes, which are in effect the King's processional garments, continue to be worn during the earlier portion of the service. With the ceremony of the anointing, however, the part played by the coronation vestments, in the technical sense of the word, commences. The latter robes are possessed of the very deepest interest and significance, for, like certain portions of the Regalia referred to in a previous chapter, they set forth, and in a very special sense, the distinctly religious character of the entire solemnity. During the

singing of the anthem which precedes the anointing, the King, attended, as before, by the Lord Great Chamberlain, is divested of his crimson mantle and surcoat. Having been seated in S. Edward's chair, he is then solemnly anointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on head, hands, breast, shoulders, and arms. Curiosity has no doubt been already excited by the mention in Sporley's catalogue of "S. Edward's comb," and what appears to be its more degenerate successor, in the Parliamentary Inventory of 1649—the "old combe of horne." The Liber Regalis, a manual which furnishes the basis of the present coronation service, states that, if necessary, "S. Edward's comb" is to be employed at this point. "The prayers being ended a shallow quoife is put on the King's head because of the Annoynting; if His Majestyes haire be not smooth after it there is King Edward's ivory combe for that end." A comb was always included among the mediæval Regalia, and it is not a little curious to note that it figures even in comparatively modern times, for it is recorded that Charles I. at his own coronation "called for the comb that he might see it."

As the Liber Regalis indicates, the "coif," or "quoife," of fine linen or lawn is the first vestment which is placed upon the newly anointed Sovereign. It corresponds in meaning, and to a great extent in appearance, with the amice of a bishop or priest. Like the white linen gloves, which were put on at the same moment, it was intended to protect the sacred oil from any possible irreverence: hence, it was not removed from the Sovereign's head until seven days had passed from the time of the coronation. The removal of the coif formed a

distinct ceremony by itself. The Liber Regalis assigns the duty to either the Abbot of Westminster, or some other dignitary of episcopal rank, who, having first of all said Mass, removed the coif, carefully washing and drying the Sovereign's hair at the same moment. At the coronation of George III. "a fine linen coif and a pair of white linen gloves" were presented by the Lord Great Chamberlain to the Archbishop, and duly placed upon the King. A similar procedure occurred at the coronations of George IV. and William IV., but it was omitted at that of Queen Victoria, the coronation order of the last-named monarch following out the precedent laid down in the Sarum Pontifical and the Liber Regalis, in which neither the "Office for a Coronation of a Queen," nor the "Order for the Coronation of a Queen," make any mention of this ceremony.

The Colobium Sindonis or alb is the next vestment to be assumed, during the process of the investing of the new Sovereign. It closely resembles a surplice, though it has not invariably been furnished with sleeves. The material of which it is composed is fine white cambric, but at recent coronations it has suffered severely, owing to the introduction of masses of rich lace, "surfled very full," an addition utterly unhistorical and altogether out of keeping with this ancient and dignified vestment.

The Colobium Sindonis is followed by the Dalmatic —the supertunic of Sporley's catalogue—to which there was usually added a Girdle composed of cloth of gold, together with a golden buckle for sustaining the Sword of State. The Dalmatic or tunic of the Sovereign bears only a faint resemblance in actual form to that worn by an ecclesiastic; but, it possesses

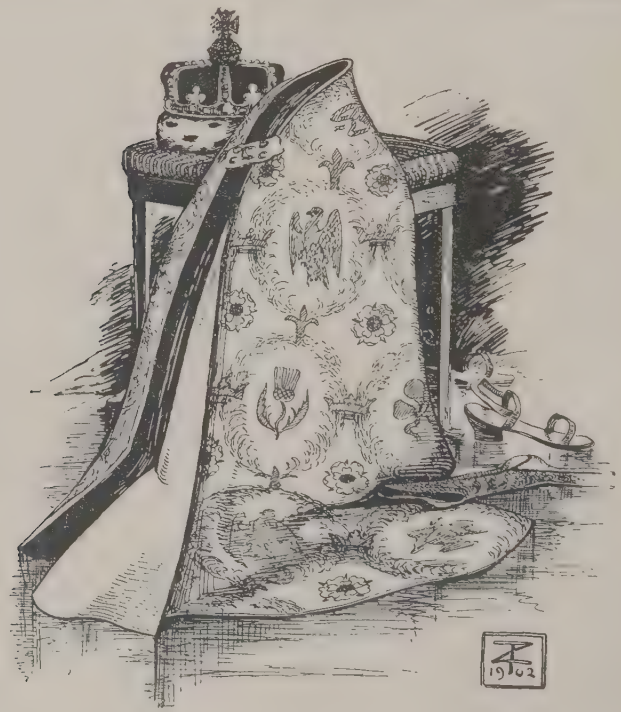
a very important signification—*i.e.*, that the monarch is the representative of the Church and the protector of her rights and privileges. It is about one yard and a quarter in length, while it has usually been composed of rich silk ornamented with golden flowers and figures, both in front and behind, and lined with crimson taffeta. Unlike the corresponding ecclesiastical vestment, it is open down the front, doubtless for reasons of convenience. Hence, it has come to be worn in the same manner as a jacket. The ornamentation of the vestment used by Queen Victoria consisted of green palm branches from which spring pink roses, green shamrocks, and lilac-coloured thistles. It is lined with rose-coloured silk and edged with gold lace.

The ornaments appropriate for the legs, follow next in order—*i.e.*, the buskins and sandals. Both of these garments are made of cloth of gold, resembling that of the supertunic, and lined with crimson sarcenet or taffeta.

The stole or "armyll" is a band of cloth of gold about three inches wide. It is usually embroidered with silver eagles, Tudor roses, fleurs-de-lys, shamrocks and thistles, interspersed with royal coronets. In the case of Queen Victoria's stole, each end was embroidered with a square panel containing S. George's cross on a silver ground. The similar vestment worn by clergy, is invariably placed beneath the tunic, being the first vestment to be assumed after the alb. The position of the royal stole, however, is the exact reverse of this, and it is remarkable to observe that no little evidence exists tending to prove the late introduction of the present method of wearing the stole. If, then, this be the

case, it would appear that the coronation has succeeded in preserving unimpaired the ancient and original usage.

The word *armyll*, which from the coronation of Henry VII. onward has been consistently applied to the stole, not only by the various coronation orders, but also by Sandford, Ashmole, and other learned



The Imperial Mantle with the Sandals and Buskins

antiquarians, has given rise to the greatest perplexity. The prayer mentioned by the Liber Regalis as being offered at this moment in the coronation service,

contains the words *accipe armillas*. This statement is fully intelligible if we proceed to construe the word *armillas* in its usual acceptance—*e.g.*, bracelets. These bracelets, or garters, are among the royal ornaments mentioned by Sporley. They are distinctly included in the historical record of more than one coronation, while a pair is still extant among the Regalia contained in the Tower to-day. Under these circumstances, the natural conclusion to draw is, that the words of the Liber Regalis refer to an investing of the Sovereign with the *bracelets;* that with the stole taking place, apparently, without specific form of words, and simultaneously with either the supertunic, or the buskins and sandals. The Liber Regalis, then, however proceeds to describe these "armillas" as hanging, "in the manner of a stole, about the neck and from each shoulder to the joints of the arms, where they are tied by silken bands, as may be more clearly seen by their structure;" while further, the coronation order of Richard II., which was contemporaneous with the first-mentioned treatise, states that a stole was assumed by the Sovereign immediately after the investing with the supertunic. One, and one only, explanation seems possible, and even that is very far from being conclusive. It has been suggested that the royal stole at mediæval coronations may have been worn like that of a priest, crossed upon the breast and tied about the level of the elbows with a girdle. Some show of probability is lent to this theory by the fact that among the vestments found upon the body of King Edward I. when his tomb was opened, in 1774, there was a stole crossed upon the breast in the manner already described. On the other hand, at the coronation of Henry VII.

the "armyll" was described as being made in manner of a stole "wovyn with gold and set with stones to be put by the Cardinal aboute the King's necke, and commyng from both shuldres to the King's elbowes where it shalbe fastened by the said Abbot of Westminster with laces of silke on evry elbowe in twoo places, that is to saye, aboue the elbowes and byneth." This direction was repeated in very nearly identical language at James II.'s coronation ; for the Dean of Westminster "put it about his Majestic's neck, and tied it to the bowings of his arms above and below the elbows." The ribbands of crimson taffeta, by which the stole was apparently fastened to the arms may still be seen in the "armyll" of the last-mentioned monarch. Thus the origin and function of the royal stole are both alike wrapped in mystery, while we are still completely baffled as to the remarkable grammatical process by which the plural noun "armillas" has come to denote a singular object.

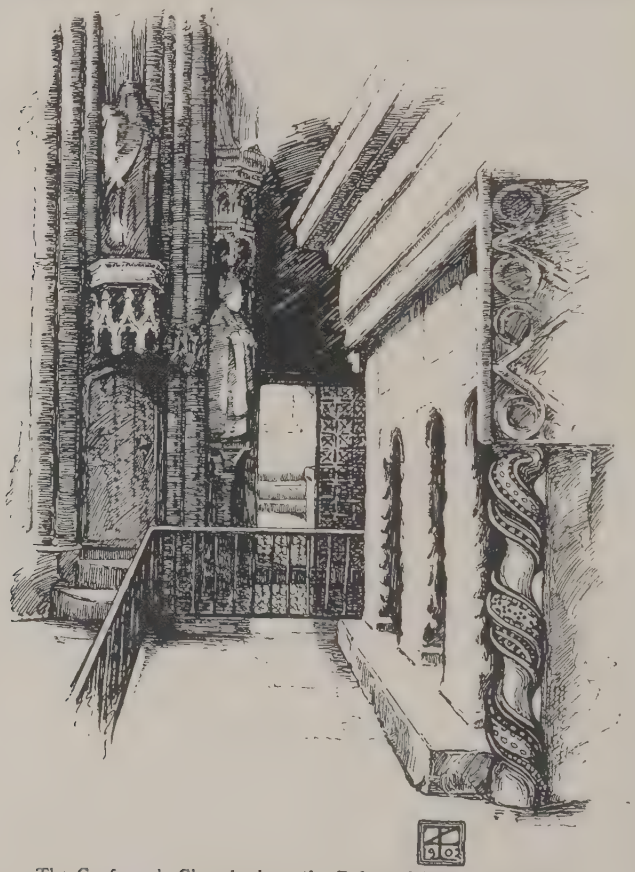
By far the most sumptuous and magnificent, however, of all the silken vestments was the Imperial Mantle, also termed the "pallium regale," the "open pall," and the "dalmatic robe." In the ancient rubric of the Liber Regalis it is described as "four square (quadrum) and woven throughout with golden eagles." Its four points signify, to quote the prayer used when Charles II. was thus invested, that "the four corners of the world are subject to the power of God, and that no man can happily reign upon earth who has not received his authority from Him." The golden eagles most probably symbolise the claim of the King of England to be Emperor of Britain and Lord of the Western Isles—a second

world, as the people of a distant age fondly imagined. The special significance of these two features is thrown into marked prominence, owing to the fact that the delivery of the orb—the symbol of dominion—accompanies this portion of the coronation rites.

In appearance, the Imperial Mantle is somewhat loosely described as being "in fashion of a cope." Sandford, the historian of James II.'s coronation, adds further :—"The mantle has been heretofore a rich embroidery with golden eagles," but this was stolen during the Civil Wars, and another was made for the ceremony of "very rich gold and purple brocaded tissue, and outside being shot with gold thread, brocaded with gold and silver threads, with large flowers of gold frosted, heightened with some little silver flowers, all edged about with purple. The lining was of rich crimson Florence taffeta and the fastening a broad gold clasp." The Imperial Mantle worn by Queen Victoria was composed of cloth of gold. It was embroidered in a pattern of gold branches, interspersed with silver eagles, together with emblems more distinctively national in character —the rose, thistle, and shamrock, separated by silver fleurs-de-lys and coronets. It was edged with golden fringe, lined with rose-coloured silk, and fastened by means of a gilt morse.

The last of the coronation vestments are the scarlet gloves—corresponding to those worn by the episcopal order. They are provided by the Lord of the Manor of Worksop for the time being, and, like the buskins and sandals, they are symbols of dignity. Not only in the case of the gloves, but in all the silken vestments used during the coronation solemnity

itself, the prevailing hue was scarlet. From time immemorial this colour has characterised the full-



The Confessor's Chapel where the Robes of Estate are assumed

dress apparel of bishops, judges, and doctors, no less than military officers and civil functionaries. Hence, the coronation vestments furnish no exception to an almost universal practice. It is difficult to trace the

origin of this custom with any real certainty. One possible explanation, however, is as follows. In 1244, Pope Innocent IV. commanded that all cardinals should wear red hats. This order was extended in 1471 by Paul II. to the remainder of their official robes, "as the remembrance of the truth that Christ had purchased the Church with His own Blood," and as signifying the readiness of the wearer to give his own life, if need be, for that same cause. Possibly, then, the crimson of the coronation vestments may be deduced from a similar sentiment, as implying that the Sovereign then pledges himself to surrender his very life-blood, should it be demanded, for the sake of his people.

The coronation of Charles I. was remarkably prolific in ominous and even terrifying events. Scarcely anything, however, created so deep an impression as the substitution of robes of white velvet in preference to the time-honoured colour, together with the choice of a similar material for the decoration of the throne. Whether this selection was inspired by the normal colour for the Feast of the Purification, on which day his coronation took place, or by some fantastic notion of Archbishop Laud, that white appropriately typified the royal innocency, or whether the true explanation be one of an infinitely more prosaic character, *e.g.*, the total failure in the supply of the material required, together with the utter impossibility of procuring an adequate quantity from Genoa in time, the fact remains that Charles I. was solemnly "hallowed" in white—a hue believed, so far back as the age of Merlin, to possess the most unlucky import for the throne of England. When, after the lapse of some four and twenty troubled years, the

same ill-starred monarch was led forth from the banqueting-hall of his own palace, to lay down his life on behalf of the Church which he so ardently loved, men's thoughts harked back to his coronation, and called to mind the dismal woes predicted centuries earlier, as destined to befall "the White King."

The processional vestments entitled the Parliament Robes, which the Sovereign wears during his grand progress from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, have already been noticed. There still remain the Robes of Estate, which are laid upon S. Edward's altar in the Confessor's Chapel and there assumed by the Sovereign, immediately upon the conclusion of the coronation service. In the "Device" for the coronation of Henry VII., his magnificent Robes of Estate are thus described: "The King, unaraied by his Chamberlayn of all his said regalles to his coote and shute, shalbe by the said Chamberlayn new arraued with hosen, sandallis, and other robes of state, that is to say, a surcote of purpill velwet close or open, furred with mynever pure, bordered with armyns, and ribbanded with gold at the colar, hands, and speris; a hode of estate furred with armyns poudred with armyns, with a greit lace of silke, and ij tarcellis purpill, and the King at his pleasur may were moo of his robes vndre his said mantell as a taberd, a kirtell or eny of them." Thus, it will be perceived, that the prevailing colour in the mantle and surcoat, comprising the Robes of Estate, is purple. This hue has for centuries been recognised as being the imperial colour *par excellence*. It points to the vast responsibilities which the Sovereign has taken upon himself, and which he has promised to discharge with faithful diligence to the remainder of his days.

It will be seen that the actual vestments employed during the service one and all indicate a distinctly religious meaning. Here, however, we are approaching a thorny question, about which considerable differences of opinion have been expressed. Still, the marked resemblance of these coronation vestments to those worn by the members of the episcopate and the priesthood, would alone seem to furnish a very strong argument in favour of the quasi-sacred character possessed by the royal person, which is further borne out by a remarkable description of the boy-King Henry VI. "They rayed hym lyke as a bysshop shuld say masse, with a dalmatyk and a stole about his necke. And also as hosyn and shone and copys and gloves lyke a bysshop. And then agen they set Seynt Edwarde's crowne on his hede."

V

THE PRINCIPAL ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICERS OF THE CORONATION

FROM the earliest ages in our country's story the right of "hallowing" the Sovereigns of England has been regarded as an inalienable prerogative of the metropolitan chair of Canterbury. In the words of an ancient couplet ascribed to Peter Langtoft :—

> "In a month mirie
> Septembre Be gynnyng
> Baudwyn of Canterbirie
> Com to coroune the Kyng.

The "sacring" of William the Conqueror, it is true, was placed in the hands of Ealdred, the Archbishop of York. This procedure, however, did not arise from any desire to disparage the ancient privilege of the southern Primate ; but for the simple reason that the Duke absolutely declined to receive the sacred unction from Archbishop Stigand, whose election

was held to be uncanonical, if not actually schismatical. Lanfranc, the new Norman occupant of the throne of S. Augustine, lost no time in setting about the aggrandisement of his see. He pointed out to William I. the extreme danger which this privilege might conceivably entail, should any part or portion thereof be assigned to the Archbishopric of York. The latter ecclesiastic, so he urged, might even at some future time proceed so far as to bestow the national diadem upon some Scot or Dane, elected by the rebel Saxons of the north. The King submitted to the pressure of this argument, and the privilege was definitely and permanently affixed to the Primate of All England, or, failing him, one of the suffragans of his own Province. To this very day, the ecclesiastics named are entitled in their own right to demand the use of the Abbey for a coronation. At all other times, however, their position within the walls of this building and the tiny Close of S. Peter which surrounds it, is that of mere visitors.

Nearly a century passed away, ere the northern Archbishop made his final submission. At the time of the Red King's sudden death in the New Forest, Archbishop Anselm, Lanfranc's successor, happened to be absent from England. A desperate race thereupon ensued; but the lengthy journey all the way from Ripon, which must needs be traversed by Archbishop Thomas, stood the Bishop of London in good service, and the former prelate arrived, only to find that the coronation of King Henry I. was by that time an accepted fact.

The most tenacious upholder of the privileges of his see was, without doubt, Ralph d'Escures. The

duty of actually crowning King Henry II. was entrusted to Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, since the Archbishop was the victim of hopeless palsy. For some reason, no information had been conveyed to the latter of this arrangement; hence, the moment he perceived Roger's hand upon the crown he was literally transported with passion. His rage was so intense that it even infused a momentary strength into the stricken hand, and he succeeded in gaining possession of the crown. Here, however, he had reached the limits of his strength. Ralph could by no manner of means "fix" the crown upon the King's head. He overturned it, and only by the veriest chance was it saved from touching the ground.

Some years later, a most disastrous attempt was made to reassert the position of the see of York. Henry II., with a lack of wisdom curious in so great and politic a ruler, determined that the Crown of England should be conferred upon his eldest son during his own lifetime. At that particular moment the King happened, most unfortunately for himself, to be at daggers drawn with Thomas à Beket; in fact, the latter was then actually undergoing his semi-voluntary exile at Sens. His place, accordingly, was filled by Roger of York. Forthwith, a violent outcry arose. The thunders of excommunication were hurled upon Roger's head. The cause of the injured and insulted Beket waxed stronger and stronger. The young King met with an untimely death, while the closing years of his great father's reign were overspread with dark clouds which were never completely dispelled. To quote the words of the ancient Chronicler "Ex hac consecratione,

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Charles Manners Sutton)
at the Coronation of George IV

potius execratione, provenerunt, detestandi eventus." From this date onwards four English Sovereigns only have failed to receive the Crown of S. Edward at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury whose parishioners ("Speciales Domestici Parochiani Domini Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis") they have been technically regarded for several centuries. The first was the unhappy Edward II. This Monarch was crowned by Woodlock, Bishop of Winchester, one of a commission of three prelates nominated by Archbishop Winchelsey, who at that time was out of health and residing in Rome. The choice of this particular bishop was, to say the least of it, most unfortunate, seeing that Woodlock in past years had been guilty of no less offence than that of conspiracy against the mighty Sovereign who had just passed to his rest.

Two and a half centuries later, the respective coronations of both the Tudor Queens were similarly marked by general irregularity. In the case of Mary, Archbishop Cranmer, who had been consigned to the Tower, was ousted from his lawful rights by Gardner, Bishop of Winchester, to the huge indignation of Matthew Parker, his penultimate successor. The coronation of Queen Elizabeth was still more wanting in adherence to the old traditional lines. Cardinal Pole had just breathed his last, so that the premier Archbishopric was vacant, while one only, out of all the remainder of the Marian prelates, Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, could be prevailed upon to assume so solemn a responsibility. Accordingly, the robes of Bishop Bonner, a prisoner in turn himself, were borrowed for the occasion. Arrayed in these vestments then, Oglethorpe, without

one single episcopal supporter at his side, forthwith "hallowed to Queen" the Princess Elizabeth Barely two years, however, elapsed ere the Bishop himself was borne to his last resting-place, his end having been hastened, so it was believed, by remorse following upon his own deed.

A most touching incident characterised the coronation of Charles II. One of the first acts on the part of the new King had been the bestowal of the Archbishopric of Canterbury upon the saintly Juxon, Bishop of London, who had attended his father upon the scaffold at Whitehall, and had suffered so much himself in the Stuart cause. Bending beneath the weight of nearly four-score eventful years, the old man nerved himself to attend the solemnity, of which the "sacring" of his master's son was the central feature. He succeeded in being "present, though much indisposed and weak"; but it was an utter impossibility for him to appear in his official capacity throughout the whole of the lengthy ceremonial. Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, assisted by Dr. Earles, the Dean of Westminster, therefore, conducted the bulk of that portion of the office usually entrusted to the Archbishop. When at length the moment arrived for the anointing and crowning of the King, Juxon was led forth from his resting-place in the Confessor's Chapel behind the High Altar, being vested "in a rich ancient cope" to perform his part. We can well imagine the joy which must have filled the heart of the aged Primate as he stood there, after the bitter strifes and tumults of the past twenty years, and solemnly "hallowed" one of the old Stuart line to be the Lord's Anointed—the Son of that Monarch

The Coronation of Charles II. This picture the only one in existence representing the service at the Coronation, is particularly curious as showing the King in two distinct positions, i.e., in the act of being

who, but twelve years previously, had given his life for the sake of the Church he loved so well.

As will have been gathered from these remarks the Archbishop of York has throughout occupied a strangely anomalous position with reference to the coronation solemnity. Archbishop Ealdred was selected to officiate at the coronation of Matilda, the Conqueror's Queen, two years subsequently to that of her husband, and from that date onward the privilege of crowning the Queen Consort has been vaguely recognised, as being one of the appurtenances of the northern Primacy. Practice, however, has not invariably been squared with theory, as the subject immediately before us abundantly testifies. During upwards of eight hundred years this right, strangely enough, has never been exercised by its proper holder. Added to this, the Archbisbop of York has never asserted a specific claim for any fee, as has been the case with his brother of Canterbury. During a long succession of coronations the latter has invariably received as his fee the purple velvet chair, cushion and foot-stool which he occupies during the ceremony, on the north side of the Sacrarium of the Abbey. Thus, the coronation of Edward VII. possessed in the position assigned to his Grace of York, one feature, at any rate, almost unique in character.

The Dean and Chapter of Westminster have naturally succeeded to the ancient rights and privileges possessed by the Abbot and brethren of the pre-Reformation convent. The celebrated Liber Regalis, as well as the contemporaneous Missal of Abbot Litlington, upon which the present coronation service is in the main based, remains

to-day in their keeping. Although the Tower has long ago superseded the Abbey in the guardianship of the National Regalia ; still, the ancient privilege of the latter foundation has not even yet disappeared. During the night which precedes the coronation, the Regalia lie beneath the shadow of the Confessor's Church, guarded by their custodians, the Yeomen of the Guard ; while immediately upon the conclusion of the ceremony, they are deposited beneath his ruined shrine. As each coronation comes round the ancient claim of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster is renewed, being set forth in a weird phraseology of mediæval French. The privileges which are detailed in the claim are almost identical with those contained in the ancient office of the Liber Regalis. Here, for instance, is the claim made by the Collegiate body at the coronation of George IV :—

"John Ireland Dean of the Collegiate Church of St Peter in Westminster and the Chapter of the same Church humbly represents, that in every coronation of all the Queens and Kings of England the Abbots of the said Monastery of S. Peter in Westminster, have been beyond the memory of man, the instructors of the Queens and Kings of England in all the forms, rites, and ceremonies used by Kings and Queens in the Coronation. And as the Abbots themselves and other ministers of the same Monastery of Westminster, for all the time aforesaid have usually assisted the Archbishop to perform Divine Service in the Church of Westminster at the time of the Coronations of each King and Queen of this Kingdom And that after the Coronation of each King and Queen of this Kingdom the robes and ornaments of the Coronation were retained and kept in the Vestry of the said Church by the Abbot or by some Minister or person in his stead appointed, But moreover the said Dean by virtue of Letters Patent of our late illustrious sovereign Queen Elizabeth ought to be the instructor of our Sovereign Lord the King in his Coronation. And the said Dean and Chapter and the Ministers of the said

The Dean of Westminster (John Ireland) bringing the Crown from the Altar upon a Cushion of Cloth of Gold

Collegiate Church of Westminster ought to assist the Archbishop in performing Divine Service at the time of the Coronation. And that the robes of the Coronation should be retained and kept in the Vestry of the said Church by the said Dean or other Minister by him appointed.

May it please your lordships to admit the said Dean and Chapter and their Ministers to perform the said services as the Abbots and Convent and their Ministers at all times heretofore have done and to have such allowances and fees as the said Abbots have had during the time aforesaid that is to say,

First 10 yards of scarlet
six ells of dark coloured cloth
six yards of sarcenet
2 pieces of double worsted
} for the Dean's robes.

Also 4 ells of Black Cloth and a piece of double Worsted for each of the Dean's three Chaplains for their Robes.

Also Robes for Six Ministers of the said Church by the King's Gift.

Also the King's upper vestments in which he comes to the Church at his Coronation.

Also all the oblation and offerings at the time of the Coronation.

Also the Stave, Throne, Royal Seats, Tapestry, Chairs, Cushions, Carpet Cloths and all the ornaments with which the stage and the Church shall be embellished at the time of the coronation. Also the four poles or staves which support the Canopy and the four little Bells that hang at each corner of the Canopy. Also the blue cloth upon which the King walks from the West door of the Church to the Stage.

Also the Great Chantor to have an ounce of gold by the hand of the Treasurer of the King's Chamber. Also an hundred Manchets, the Third Part of a Tun of Wine according to the bounty of his said Royal Majesty for the said Dean and Chapter's repast on the Coronation Day.

The Bishops of Durham and Bath and Wells have for centuries enjoyed the privilege of attending their Sovereign during the procession to the Abbey, and indeed throughout the entire solemnity. The first

instance actually recorded of the exercise of this right occurred at the coronation of Richard I. Ever since that date, age, or infirmity, have alone prevented these two ecclesiastics from appearing as the Sovereign's supporters on either side. Two exceptions only to this rule have been handed down to

Coronation of a King

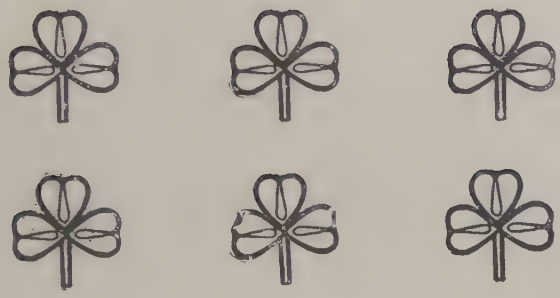
(From the celebrated missal of Nicholas Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, 1362–1386)

us. At the coronation of Henry VII. the two Prelates were most unjustifiably ejected from their time-honoured position, by reason, without doubt, of their strong Yorkist predilections. They were replaced by the Bishops of Exeter and Ely.

The second case occurred in 1689. At the coro-

nation of William and Mary the Bishop of Bath and Wells stood alone in demanding his rightful privileges. He was met, however, with a blank refusal, the alleged cause being the untenability of the claim unless made by the two prelates conjointly. The real reason, however, was not far to seek. The occupant of the bishopric at this particular moment was no less a personage than the saintly Bishop Ken, whose opinions it can hardly be doubted, had already rendered him highly obnoxious in the eyes of the Dutch King. The inference may be drawn without difficulty.

No other ecclesiastic possesses any definite right connected with the ceremony of the coronation. The entire Bench of Bishops are seated in their capacity of peers of the realm upon "forms," immediately behind the Archbishop, upon the north side of the High Altar. There exist, however, quite a large number of duties which can only be carried out by members of the episcopal body. To one of them is assigned the duty of delivering a "brief" sermon. Two others are required to attend the Queen ; two to chant the Litany, two more to act as Epistoler and Gospeller, and so on. All these numerous offices, however, deduce their origin from the royal appointment for the occasion only, and they are not necessarily performed by the occupants of identical sees at each successive coronation.



VI

THE GREAT OFFICERS OF STATE

THE lay-officers of the coronation ceremony form a very much more numerous body than those bearing a clerical character. First and foremost, of course, come the Great Officers of State headed by the Lord High Steward. In the first instance these offices were of a permanent and indeed hereditary nature. Such, in fact, the office of Earl Marshal remains to this day. The remainder, however, are only created in view of some special emergency or occasion, and for a very limited period of time.

The Lord High Steward was the "steadward" or ward of the King's place. During Anglo-Saxon times this was an office of the last importance. It was universally recognised as being the duty of the Steward to govern the kingdom, immediately beneath the King. During a vacancy in the throne the entire responsibility of ordering and maintaining the body

politic was laid upon him. At one period the office was permanently attached to the mighty Earldom of Leicester, the holders of which were known as

John of Gaunt presiding at the First Court of Claims

"senescalli regis de feodo." With the fall and attainder of the great Earl Simon de Montfort, the Stewardship was granted by Henry III. to his own younger son, Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, from whom it descended to another great mediæval

figure, John of Gaunt. The latter presided, in this capacity, over the sitting of the first Court of Claims, whose proceedings have been recorded; and took a very leading share in the arrangements for the crowning of his nephew, Richard II. When, however, his own son, Harry of Bolingbroke, ascended the throne, the office became merged in the crown and has never been revived subsequently, save for some very special occasion like the trial of a peer or a coronation. For instance, Henry Earl of Arundel was created Lord High Steward at the coronation of Elizabeth on the understanding that he was to hold office for the fifteenth of January only "from the rising of the sun on the same day to the setting thereof."

In addition to the duties more nearly connected with the coronation day, it was at one time customary to constitute some nobleman Lord High Steward *pro hac vice* in order that he might sit in the White Hall of the Palace of Westminster, and hear the petitions of all who were bound to perform services of any kind at the coronation. In more recent times, however, this responsibility has been shared by a joint commission, nominated from the members of the Privy Council.

The Lord High Steward still retains the right of walking immediately before the Sovereign in the Procession, while to him is assigned the privilege of carrying the Crown of S. Edward. At George IV.'s coronation the Marquis of Anglesey officiated as Lord High Steward. His duties were safely discharged so far as the Procession was concerned; but there still remained the duty of fetching the Crown from the High Altar, ere Archbishop Manners Sutton placed it upon the King's head. The absence of the

leg which the noble Marquis had left behind him on the field of Waterloo, doubtless impeded his movements up and down the steps of the Altar not a little, with the result that he allowed his precious burden to slip, and only just succeeded in recovering it before it reached the ground!

The Lord Great Chamberlain, or "Bower-Thegn," is entrusted with certain duties of a most singular description. He is enjoined to carry to the King his shirt and clothes on the morning of the coronation, after having kept a rigorous watch over the royal person during the preceding night, and together with the Lord Chamberlain of the Household he helps to dress the King. In return for such services, the Lord Great Chamberlain was entitled to receive forty yards of crimson velvet for a robe, also the King's bed, bedding and the furniture of his chamber where he lay the night before, with his wearing apparel and nightgown. At the coronation Banquet he took the leading part in the service of Ewry, that is to say, it was his privilege to serve the King with water before and after dinner, while the Lord of the Manor of Heydon supplied the towel. For this second portion of his duties, the Lord Great Chamberlain received the basin and towel together with the cup of assay. These eccentric fees, however, have long been compounded for a sum in hard cash, the robe alone being delivered to the claimant in actual kind.

All the details connected with the fitting up of Westminster Hall, devolve upon the Lord Great Chamberlain. During the service in the Abbey he delivers the oblations for the altar to the King. He also, is responsible for the investiture of the

The Marquis of Anglesey as Lord High Steward of England, carrying S. Edward's Crown at the Coronation of George IV.

Sovereign with the Spurs and Sword of State. Last of all, it must be noticed that the Lord Great Chamberlain was further entitled to have "liberationes et hospitia Curiæ Domini Regis." This distinguished office, possessed at one time of the very highest importance, remained for several centuries in the hands of the De Vere family to whom it was originally granted by Henry I. In the early part of the seventeenth century this house came to an abrupt termination on the death, without issue, of Henry the eighteenth Earl of Oxford. Hence the office of Lord Great Chamberlain passed by reason of the marriage of Earl Henry's aunt, into the possession of yet another great English family, the head of which was entitled the Earl of Lindsey. The case was argued before the House of Lords with the result that this nobleman was admitted to the possession of the office by Charles I., acting upon the advice of the Peers.

At the coronation of Charles II., Lord Lindsey's successor was refused the cup of assay; but he was granted forty ells of velvet and £200 sterling by way of compensation. For upwards of a century the post was retained by his successors, until the death, in fact, in 1779, of Robert Bertie, Duke of Ancaster. A number of candidates forthwith appeared in quest of the office. After a long hearing, the House of Lords decided that it had devolved upon the two sisters of the late Duke, Lady Priscilla Barbara, wife of Peter Burrell, afterwards Lord Gwydyr, and Lady Georgina Charlotte, afterwards Marchioness of Cholmondeley, and further that Peter Burrell would be permitted to act in their stead. From this time onwards the office of Lord Great Chamberlain

has been held in turn by the respective descendants of these two ladies, its occupant at the last coronation being Lord Willoughby d'Eresby.

The office of Lord High Constable, the "staller" of Anglo-Saxon days, was originally annexed to the Earldom of Hereford which accordingly came to be held by "grand sergeanty." With the death of Earl Humphrey de Bohun in 1371, his vast estates passed to two joint heiresses in the persons of his daughters. The Constableship then became the property of the Houses of Lancaster and Stafford in succession. The last of the great hereditary Constables was Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who met with so hard a fate at the hands of Henry VIII. From that time the office of Lord High Constable has practically ceased to exist. It has only been granted for some special occasion, generally a court pageant. Henry, Earl of Arundel, for instance, was created High Constable, in 1559, to hold the office for the whole of January 14, then instant, being the day before the Queen's coronation, while further a commission was granted him, at the same time by Elizabeth, to make not more than thirty Knights of the Bath within the two following days. At each of the last three coronations this post of Constable was assigned to the great Duke of Wellington.

At a coronation the Lord High Constable attends the Sovereign, bearing his staff of office in his hand. He takes precedence of all the Great Officers of State with the exception of the Lord High Steward. He assists in the delivery of the Regalia to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and together with the Earl Marshal he ushers the Champion into the Hall.

Of the four Great Officers of State the Earl Marshal

has retained a far larger share of practical and permanent authority than any of his colleagues. The duties and privileges claimed by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, the great marshal in the reign of Henry II. have been summed up by Mr. Edmondson in his complete Body of Heraldry as follows :—

"According to the usages said to have been claimed in the reign of King Henry II. by the then marshal, Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, the marshal, in right of his office, standing next to the King on the day of his Coronation, was entitled to bear in his hand the royal crown, to assist in setting it on the king's head, and when so placed, holding it by the fleur-de-lis fixed on its front, to sustain it during the remainder of the solemnity ; at which time no other person was to presume to touch it."

"On the coronation day and on all high festivals it was incumbent on the marshal to appease and prevent all tumults, noise, and disturbance in the king's presence. He was also to keep the doors of the great hall and of all other rooms within the royal palace excepting that of the king's bed-chamber ; and in all things to execute the office of High Usher. For these services he received as his fees the horse and the palfrey on which the King and the queen rode to the place of their coronation ; together with their bridles, saddles, and caparisons ; the cloth spread on the table whereat the King dined ; the cloth of estate which hung behind him at the time of dinner ; the chines of all swans and cranes served up ; and sundry other fees appertinent to the office of high usher. Every person committed to his custody by the High Steward on coronation days paid him a fee of four pence ; and all fines and

The Duke of Wellington as Lord High Constable of England, at the Coronation of George IV.

amercements set upon offenders and not amounting to more than 3*s.* 4*d.* each belonged to him."

Even to-day the practical management of all the state ceremonial is entrusted to the Earl Marshal. As Head Master of the Heralds' College it is his business to announce full details of the general arrangements, as well as to issue the necessary orders respecting the robes to be worn by the Peers and Peeresses at the coronation. On the actual day the general management of the ceremony is placed in the hands of the Earl Marshal and his thirteen subordinate officers, the members of the College of Arms. These assistant officers are in the first place, the three Kings-at-Arms, Garter, who marches next before the Sword of State, being second only to the Earl Marshal; Clarencieux and Norroy. These three officials are entitled to wear crowns in addition to their richly embroidered tabards and collars, indeed, at one time they actually underwent at their inauguration a kind of mimic coronation. An oath was duly ministered; a species of unction took place, wine being poured upon the head of the King-at-Arms from a gilt cup in substitution for oil; they were solemnly invested with their tabards, while finally, a crown was set upon their heads.

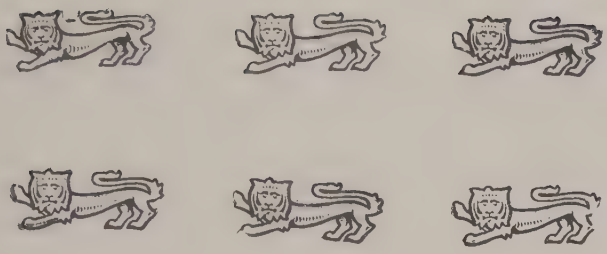
The remaining members of the College of Arms, consist of the six heralds—Windsor, Chester, Lancaster, York, Richmond, and Somerset, who used to be invested with ceremonies identical with those of the Kings-at-Arms; and, lastly the four Pursuivants—Rouge Croix, Portcullis, Blue-mantle, and Rouge Dragon.

More than once the Earl Marshal and his staff have been found utterly and hopelessly wanting,

with the result that they have succeeded in literally covering their unfortunate heads with confusion. The arrangements at George III.'s coronation seem to have been carried out in the very crudest and wildest fashion possible. One thing after another was forgotten. The Lord Mayor's sword had to be borrowed in order to replace the Sword of State and the canopy not being forthcoming a fresh one had to be manufactured then and there in Westminster Hall. Consequently, the Procession did not start until noon and when the Abbey was at length reached, the general mismanagement protracted the service for no less than six hours, with the result that the evening twilight lent an unintentionally romantic effect to the Procession on its return journey. The King at length remonstrated with the deputy Earl Marshal, the Earl of Effingham, whose expressions of penitence only succeeded in landing him still more deeply in the mire. "It is true, Sir," was his lordship's blundering reply, "that there has been some neglect, but I have taken care that *the next coronation shall be regulated in the exactest manner possible.*"

The office of Earl Marshal has had a long and remarkable history, Bigods and Howards, Mowbrays and Brothertons, have held it in a perpetual succession. Although, in all probability, by no means unknown in still earlier times, the first creation of a Marshal the record of which has descended to our own day took place in 1135 when Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, received it at the hands of King Stephen, to be his hereditary possession. The Earls of Pembroke continued to retain this office by descent until the direct line came to an end in the

persons of five daughters. Maude the eldest, married Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and their son Roger, by dint of hard persuasion, a portion of it doubtless being sufficiently forcible in character, succeeded in obtaining this much coveted prize. Towards the close of the reign of Edward I., Roger's successor having passed away without issue, the office of Earl Marshal was for the time merged in the property of the crown. With Richard II., however, the Mowbray family begins to come to the front with the creation of Thomas Mowbray as Earl Marshal. The rights and privileges of the office remained in the possession of this great family until it expired in the reign of Edward IV., owing to the absence once more of male heirs. From Richard III. onward, however, the post of Earl Marshal became almost permanently attached to another no less distinguished house—that of the Howards. The first holder was Sir John Howard, who had previously married Margaret, one of the few surviving members of the Mowbray family. The Howards have been Earl Marshal of England with scarcely any break from that time until now. During one period the post of Earl Marshal was carried out by commission appointed for some particular occasion, but in 1672 Charles II. made a grant of the office to Henry Lord Howard, and proceeded to tie it up in so strict a manner, that it could not fail to descend in a regular and orderly succession, to the respective descendants of this nobleman.



VII

THE INFERIOR LAY OFFICERS

THE offices described in the previous chapter require no legal recognition before their respective duties can be put into force. There is, however, a second class of offices, the holders of which are compelled to make good their title to the satisfaction of the Court of Claims, which is constituted prior to every coronation. For the most part these offices are held by the tenure of grand sergeanty or tenure *per magnum servitium, i.e.*, on condition of rendering special services to the King, such as filling the office of Butler or Champion.

The office of Hereditary Grand Almoner imposed upon the holder the duty of distributing the blue cloth upon which the Sovereign walks from the throne in Westminster Hall to the western doors of the Abbey Church, together with certain moneys collected in a silver dish. For his fee the Grand

Almoner is entitled to receive the said dish, and "a fine Linnen towel together with a Tun of good wine." The office was annexed to the Barony of Bedford which, prior to the reign of Richard II., was in the hands of the Beauchamp family. At the coronation of Henry IV., it was claimed by two descendants of Beauchamp Lord Bedford, *e.g.*, John Lord Latimer and Thomas de Mowbray, in virtue of lands which had come into their possession by marriage. At the coronation of James II. a further encounter took place between the Earl of Exeter as being descended from the Latimer family, Sir George Blundell, a descendant of the Beauchamps, and Thomas Snagg, both of whom had obtained possession of a portion of these lands by purchase. The question was ultimately referred to the King, and the privilege was assigned to the first named candidate although shorn of a large portion of its ancient splendour. The silver alms dish was the sole representative of the original magnificent fee, while the actual duties entailed upon the holder of the office were abbreviated in a corresponding fashion. The distribution of the cloth, for which the churchwardens of the parishes of S. Margaret, Westminster, and S. Martin-in-the-Fields made an ineffectual claim on behalf of their poor parishioners, henceforth became the only duty attached to the office of Hereditary Grand Almoner of England, This office was permanently retained from coronation to coronation by the descendants of the Earl of Exeter, though not without opposition even so lately as the reign of George IV., from holders of portions of the Barony of Bedford.

One of the most dignified and at the same time

The Court of Claims, sitting in Whitehall prior to the Coronation of George IV.

most ancient of all the numerous offices connected with the coronation was that of Chief Butler. First assigned by the Conqueror to William de Albini—one of his chosen followers—it has been held in succession by some of the noblest magnates of the land. The services in connection with the office of Chief Butler were to be performed in return for the castle and manor of Bokenham, together with the manors of Kenninghall, Wymondham, and Snettisham, in Norfolk. On the death of Hugh de Albini in 1243, these estates were divided, the Manor of Bokenham becoming the portion of Mabell wife of Robert de Tateshale, while to Cecily wife of Roger de Montealt there descended that of Kenninghall. Thus, two parallel and rival races of descendants sprang up, both of whom claimed the right to render this service of "botelry." From the time of Charles II.'s coronation, however, the Chief Butlership has been regarded as an hereditary possession of the Duke of Norfolk as "Earl of Arundel and Lord of the manor of Kenninghall." That the service of "botelry" was considered to indicate a lofty dignity may be inferred from the action of Henry II. at the ill-starred coronation of his eldest son in 1170. On that occasion the reigning sovereign officiated in the capacity of Chief Butler at the royal table—an act of loving and gracious consideration, which only procured from the impertinent boy a stinging taunt to the effect that it was no such great condescension for the son of an earl to wait on the son of a King.

The Chief Butler was entitled to receive the best gold cup and cover, the golden bason and ewer together with all the vessels and wine remaining

under the bar, and all the pots and cups saving those of gold and silver, which might happen to be left in the wine cellar after dinner. This magnificent prize has, however, in later days been reduced to the far humbler and more modest dimensions of one solitary golden basin and ewer.

Closely associated with the office of Chief Butler is that of the Sewer or Dapifer. To this functionary —generally the holder for the time being of the Barony of FitzWalter—there was assigned the duty of bringing up and arranging the dishes at the coronation Banquet. So elaborate was the character of the ceremonial connected with this function that the holder of the office of Sewer must have found it very far from being a sinecure. The existence of the Royal Sewer came to a termination during the early portion of the seventeenth century. A quaint record of the office has been preserved to us in an account of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth of York which took place in 1488. It appears that on this occasion, "the Lorde Fitz-Walter sewer in his surcote with tabard sleeves and a hoode about his neck and his towell above all served the messes." At later coronations the office has been bestowed upon some magnate by royal appointment.

The Grand Carver and the Grand Panneter in the same manner ceased to exist at a comparatively early date. The former was attached to the Earldom of Lincoln. At the coronation of Richard II. it was held by the great John of Gaunt, at that time King of Castile and Leon. It probably disappeared when the Earldom came to be merged in the property of the crown with the accession of the Lancastrian Dynasty, seeing that Henry IV. actually

appointed a substitute for himself at his own coronation.

The duty imposed upon the holder of the last named office was "to beare the salt and the kerving knives from the pantre to the Kinge's Dyning Table," in return for which he received the salt cellars, knives and spoons which were placed before the King at the Banquet. This office was originally attached to the manor of Kibworth Beauchamp. Hence it soon came to be one of the numerous appurtenances belonging to the mighty Earldom of Warwick. With the break-up of the "King-maker's" power, however, at Barnet, the Manor of Kibworth passed into other hands and in the reign of Edward VI. it was assigned to the Duke of Northumberland then at the zenith of his fame and influence. A few brief years and with that statesman's fall the whole of his vast possessions, including the office of Grand Panneter became merged in the crown. A fresh grant was made of the manor, it is true, by Queen Elizabeth, Sir Ambrose Dudley, Northumberland's eldest son, being the fortunate recipient; but shortly after he died, leaving no heirs. Thus, the manor reverted once more to the possession of the crown, and the office of Grand Panneter finally ceased to exist.

At later coronations some magnate of the realm was usually appointed, for that occasion only, to perform the duties attached to these ancient offices, seeing that their hereditary holders had come to an end.

The Chief Cupbearer claimed to serve the King with the first cup of wine which he drank at the Banquet. The said cup was by special order manufactured of silver gilt, and at the conclusion of the

ceremony it was assigned to the Chief Cupbearer as his fee. As was the case with so many others, the history of this office covers an enormous stretch of history. It originated in the grant made by William the Conqueror to one of his Norman followers, Fitz Teck by name, consisting of the Manor of Great Wymondley. For a very considerable period this property was associated with the family of Allington until, in fact, the death of Lord Allington of Killard, Chief Cupbearer at the coronation of George I. This nobleman died, however, during that monarch's reign, leaving no sons behind him, and the office passed into the united possession of his nieces or their respective husbands, viz., Juliana Countess Dowager Howe, Sir Richard Grosvenor, Bart., and Sir Nathanial Napier, Bart. It survived until after the next coronation on which occasion the claims of Lord Allington's nieces were duly admitted, and these ladies received permission to appear by proxy, in the person of Sir Richard Grosvenor.

There still remain three offices which demand further consideration—those of the Chief Lardiner and the Royal Napier, together with the Serjeant of the Silver Scullery. To the former as his name implies there was intrusted the general management of the royal larder, in return for which he was entitled to the remainder of the beef, mutton, venison, kids, lard, fish, salt, and so on, which survived the coronation Banquet and the general scramble with which it not infrequently closed. This office was part and parcel of the Manor of Scoulton in Norfolk, usually termed Burdeleys Manor. For several centuries the office remained in the possession of the De Burdeleys family. In 1333, for instance, Margaret, widow of

John de Burdeleys, held the manor by the service of coming to the King's larder on the coronation day with a knife in her hand, to serve the Lardiner's office. At some subsequent time, however, Scoulton became the property of the Lords of Abergavenny. They did not remain in undisputed possession of the office. Over and over again their right to hold it was stoutly contested by the owners of the manor of Easton in Essex—the Lords Maynard—to say nothing of certain smaller manors, such as those of Maddington and Shipton le Mayne, all of which claimed to be "Sergeanties of the Royal Larder." Such was the confusion which arose from all these conflicting claims that from the coronation of Charles II. onwards, the responsibility of selecting one or other of the candidates has been evaded by the Court of Claims, and referred to the royal pleasure.

Next, there comes the Royal Napier whose business it was "to be gardeine of the napery," that is to say, to take charge of all the table linen at the Banquet, receiving it at the conclusion of the function as his fee. This office was associated with the Manor of Ashill in the county of Norfolk. Held at first by the family of Hastyngs, this manor with its attendant office devolved at the coronation of Henry IV. upon Lord Grey de Ruthyn. About a century later, Richard Grey, Earl of Kent, sold the Manor of Ashill to one Sir Henry Wyatt, whose grandson Sir Thomas came to such a miserable end during the reign of Mary I. After the unsuccessful rebellion and the subsequent execution of Sir Thomas, Ashill fell to the crown, and at the same time, the office of Royal Napier became forthwith a thing of the past. The

The Treasurer of the Household carrying the Bag with the Medals at the Coronation of George IV.

manor was granted out once more by Queen Mary to Sir Henry Beddingfield, but its whole character was changed. It was no longer held on the tenure of Grand Sergeanty, but on that of Knight-service.

The Sergeant of the Silver Scullery was in no sense of the word an hereditary officer, neither was the performance of his various duties connected with the possession of any specific property or lands. At the coronation of Charles II. the post happened to be assigned for no special reason to the Duke of Albemarle, at that time the Master of the Horse. From that date onwards, however, although it was distinctly recognised that the enjoyment of the office was entirely dependent upon the royal pleasure, yet, in the arrangements for each successive coronation, the combination of the post of Master of the Horse with that of Sergeant of the Silver Scullery came to be stereotyped as it were, and regarded as almost a permanent institution.

The Sergeant of the Silver Scullery was one of the most highly favoured of all the coronation officers. To him belonged all the silver dishes and plates served at the royal table, while the only duty of importance connected with his office appears to have been the "taking assay," *i.e.*, tasting the King's meat at the kitchen dresser bar.

A very peculiar feature of the service in Westminster Abbey is that which is usually entrusted to the Treasurer of the Household. Upon this functionary is imposed the duty of distributing the gold and silver medals struck in honour of the great occasion. During the somewhat lengthy performance of the Homage (which was calculated at Queen Victoria's coronation, for instance, to occupy no less

than forty minutes) the Treasurer of the Household accompanied by Garter King-at-Arms and the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, moves from side to side of the "theatre" erected beneath the lantern, and proceeds to fling the medals to and fro amongst the assembled multitude.

VIII

LAY MEN WHO CLAIM TO PERFORM SERVICES

THERE still remains a somewhat extensive body of lay persons, who, although they are the holders of no actual office which is definitely associated with some particular portion of the coronation ceremony, like the remnants of feudalism already described, nevertheless regard themselves as being entitled to perform certain specific acts of service to their sovereign lord the King.

One of the most ancient and by no means the least interesting of the quaint and varied services claimed by such persons, is the right upheld from coronation to coronation by the Barons of the Cinque Ports. The representatives of these loyal towns claim the privilege of upholding a canopy made of cloth of gold above the head of the King and, should there be a Queen-Consort, over her head

A Baron of the Cinque Ports at the Coronation of George IV.

also, during their progress to and from Westminster Abbey. In return for this service the Barons claim the further privilege of sitting at a table placed upon the King's right hand during the Banquet, and also that of receiving an honorarium in the shape of the silver staves and bells at each corner of the framework, as well as the actual canopy itself.

It has been alleged that the high position thus assigned to the Barons at the coronation Banquet was originally bestowed by way of recognition of the gallant manner in which they had repulsed foreign invaders from the English coast, while according to Richard of Devizes "the right to bear the canopy over their Sovereign," was granted in the first place by King John—the price of the assistance rendered by the redoubtable mariners during his own unfortunate voyages to and from the lost Duchy of Normandy. It is possible, to say the least, that the above privileges may extend back to an even more distant age. In the reign of Richard I., it appears that a custom existed, ancient even then, by which the Barons duly offered their canopy at the altar in the Cathedral Church of Christ at Canterbury; and, once more, the Charter of the Cinque Ports (1682), in alluding to these privileges, makes use of the following significant expression—"the time to the contrary being never remembered to have been."

The Barons of the Cinque Ports have not enjoyed by any means an undisputed acknowledgment of their rights. At the coronation of Charles II. they only succeeded in gaining possession of their canopy after a desperate tussle with the royal footmen. Upon another occasion there appeared an unexpected rival from an altogether different quarter. The

rivals in question were the Barons of Corfe Castle, who claimed to stand upon a position of equality with the ancient and renowned Barons of the Cinque Ports. In support of their so-called rights the Barons of Corfe Castle proceeded to maintain that Queen Elizabeth, in return for the loyal services rendered by Sir Christopher Hatton when Governor of the Castle, had exalted the Constable, Mayor and Barons to a position in the realm identical with that occupied by the first-mentioned body. The claim was, however, made in vain, and the Barons of the Cinque Ports were no less successful in warding off these assailants, than they had been during the Middle Ages in repelling the French from their coasts.

At the coronation of William and Mary the Barons, much to their indignation, were ousted by certain bishops from their table on the right hand of the King and Queen. The same outrageous slight was perpetrated, and in a manner still more insulting, at the coronation of George III. No sooner had they entered Westminster Hall than it was found that Lord Talbot, in his capacity of Lord High Steward—the duties attached to which office he had performed throughout in the most slovenly fashion imaginable—had omitted to provide them with any table at all. To the loss of their accustomed privilege there was added, moreover, a cruel and uncalled for insult. The only balm which my Lord Talbot deigned to bestow upon the perturbed and ruffled feelings of the aggrieved Barons, was the scornful remark : "Gentleman, if you speak to me as High Steward, I must tell you that there was no room for you ; but if as Lord Talbot, I am

The Barons of the Cinque Ports carrying the Canopy over Queen Mary, Consort of James II.

ready to give you satisfaction in any way you think fit!"

At the coronation of George IV., the Barons created not a little amusement amongst the spectators who were assembled in Westminster Hall during the early hours of the morning. By way of occupying the long space, which intervened before the commencement of the actual ceremony, in as profitable a manner as possible, they decided to go through a preliminary rehearsal in the wielding of their canopy. Accordingly, at the word of command the Barons proceeded to parade up and down the Hall, creating peals of laughter by reason of their awkward and ungainly movements. A little later on a second attempt was made which met with no greater success, and produced a more than corresponding amount of derision. When at length the supreme moment arrived for starting upon their march to the Abbey, King George absolutely declined to trust his valuable life beneath the canopy, and insisted on walking some little distance in front. In spite, however, of their somewhat ludicrous movements, it has been recorded that the magnificent costumes worn by the Barons, which consisted of large cloaks of Garter blue satin with slashed arms of scarlet, and stockings of dead red, fully compensated for every other defect!

This much prized privilege of acting as bearers of the royal canopy forms a striking commentary upon the enormous power wielded once upon a time by the decayed though ever fascinating federation known in full as "the Cinque Ports and the Two Ancient Towns of Rye and Winchelsea." In the eloquent words of Professor

Montague Burrows, English mediæval history has witnessed the development of a few small fishing villages "into a great and powerful corporation charged with the control of a principal industry and food supply of the English people, the herring fishery; trusted with the defence of the English shores, and the passage to the continent; gradually formed into a local royal navy and performing the most brilliant service, chartered by each Sovereign in turn with unrivalled privileges, honoured with the highest place above all others at coronations, and retaining a titular rank confined to themselves which is not even yet obsolete. This confederation has enjoyed the singular felicity of having taken on the one hand a leading part in establishing the constitutional liberties of England, and on the other of having supplied the chief weapon used by its Kings in the consolidation of its territory and the restoration of its sovereignty in the Narrow Seas. It may also be fairly called the parent and exemplar of the Royal Navy itself. Though fallen into decay and ruin in the outpost service of the nation its declining forces aroused themselves for one last gallant effort against the Spanish Armada. That may be considered its euthanasia."

The privilege of carrying the Great Golden Spurs —"les grandes espérons,"—which originally belonged to the Earls of Pembroke devolved subsequently upon the Lords Grey de Ruthyn. The right still remains in the hands of this family, although at Queen Victoria's coronation, since there was no available male representative, it was performed by Lord Byron acting on behalf of the Baroness Grey de Ruthyn.

The Marquess of Salisbury with S. Edward's Staff, Lord Calthorpe with the Gold Spurs, and the Marquess of Wellesley with the Sceptre at the Coronation of George IV

The Lord of the Manor of Worksop has for several centuries put forward a claim to provide a rich scarlet glove for the King's right hand, as well as to support his arm while bearing the royal sceptre. The right to perform this service was in the first instance associated with the possession of the Manor of Farnham Royal with the hamlet of Cere in the county of Buckingham. During the sixteenth century however, an exchange was effected between Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, at that time in possession of this property, and King Henry VIII. The result of this transaction was the exchange of Farnham for the site of the Priory and Manor of Worksop, which latter were accordingly placed upon the similar tenure of Grand Sergeanty. By the marriage of Alethea, the daughter and heiress of Earl Francis, the Manor of Worksop passed into the hands of the family of Howard. Down to the last coronation the service was always rendered by some representative of this great English house. Since that date, however, the possession of the Manor of Worksop no longer forms a portion of their wide possessions, and the service will consequently be performed in future by the new Lord of the said manor, the Duke of Newcastle.

To the Lord Mayor and twelve representatives of the commonalty of London, there falls the privilege of assisting the Chief Butler, or, to quote the curious wording in which their claim is set forth, "de servir en le office de butlership in aydement del capital butler de Angleterre." In return for this service they are entitled to sit at a table placed "next the cupboard on the left side of the Hall." The Lord Mayor himself claims the additional privilege of presenting the King

upon the conclusion of the Banquet with "hippocrasse," in a golden cup, whenever he should be pleased to take "les espices." After the contents have been tasted by the Sovereign the cup is restored to the Lord Mayor by way of fee. As might have been expected, the citizens of London have from time to time championed their own privileges in a manner that was vigorous and even pugnacious. Like the Barons of the Cinque Ports, they also found themselves ousted from their proper table in the general confusion which characterised the coronation of George III. Alderman Beckford, however, was fully equal to the occasion. He forthwith proceeded to administer a sound rating in forcible and expressive terms to the unfortunate Lord Steward, who was on the verge by this time of absolute distraction. Beckford's threats proved to be a most cogent and convincing form of argument; with the result that these militant citizens found themselves exalted to the table originally prepared for the Knights of the Bath.

Upon one occasion only in the course of their history were the citizens of London tied and bound, so to speak, and their just claims set at defiance. The occasion in question was the coronation of James II., for, owing to a most iniquitous judgment on the part of the Court of King's Bench, delivered but a short time previously, and engineered by Charles II. and Judge Jeffreys, all their liberties and privileges had been seized and remained at that particular moment in the King's hands.

The Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonalty of Oxford possessed a very similar privilege, in connection with this office of "botelry"—a right which dates, it is believed, from the reign of Henry I. A distinction

is, however, made between these two distinguished cities in the fact that the representatives of the latter became the recipients of a considerably humbler and less valuable fee for their trouble, *e.g.*, three maple cups.

With the lordship of the Isle of Man there is associated a peculiar and probably quite unique privilege. As regards its actual history, it possesses a far deeper interest than most of the feudal claims of service which are put forward at each coronation. The island having become forfeited to the crown by the attainder of Archbishop Scrope, it was granted by Henry IV. to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. This nobleman did not, however, long survive to enjoy his new possession, for in a very few years later, after his disastrous defeat at the Battle of Shrewsbury, the Isle of Man became forfeited to the crown once again. It was then granted by the same monarch to William Stanley and his heirs, the main condition of the present being that this family should give "a cast of two falcons" to the Kings of England on their coronation day. The Stanley family subsequently acquired the Earldom of Derby, and for some three and a half centuries they continued as "Lords of the Isle and castle of Pelham and the serviory and dominion of Man" to render this beautiful and unique offering to their liege lords at coronation after coronation. With the eighteenth century the island passed by marriage into the hands of the Duke of Athol. Shortly afterwards the new owner ceased to maintain what was the exercise of a virtual kingship over the islands of Man; for, in 1784, he parted with all his sovereign rights and privileges which were now acquired by means of purchase for the crown. At

The Lord Mayor of London carrying the Crystal Mace, followed by the Lord Steward of the Household, at the Coronation of George IV

the same time the actual territory still remained the property of the Duke of Athol, and upon the same curious tenure. At the coronation of George IV. the due performance of this ancient service was one of the most popular and attractive incidents connected with that splendid pageant. In the words of a contemporary writer : "Amongst the feudal services the two falcons for the Isle of Man were conspicuous. Seated on the wrist of his Grace's hawking gauntlet, the beautiful peregrine falcons appeared with their usual ornaments." "The birds sat perfectly tame on the arm of his Grace, completely hooded and furnished with bells." "The King descended from his chair of state, and the ladies of the court pressed round to caress and examine the noble birds."

Another curious service, the origin of which appears to be enwrapped in mystery, was that possessed by the Lord of the Manor of Nether Bilsington, in Kent, whose privilege it was to present his Sovereign with three maple cups.

The service of Ewry, or the right to serve the King with water before and after the coronation Banquet was, as has been remarked, one of the specific privileges of the Lord Great Chamberlain. Associated with him, however, in the fulfilment of this task was a subordinate claimant—the Lord of the Manor of Heydon, in Essex, whose possession of this property can be traced back to a far distant past. The last mentioned magnate claimed one half of his manor by the service of holding the towel and the remaining half by the service of holding the basin and ewer. Unlike the Lord Great Chamberlain, who received basin and towel for his fee, the Lord of Heydon "sheweth not the certaintie of any fee in his clayme." By the

date of the Restoration, the Manor of Heydon had passed into the hands of the Soame family, and henceforward their right was reduced to that of holding the towel only. At the coronation of William and Mary, Sir Peter Soame when engaged in the very act of rendering the time-honoured service attached to his manor was subjected to a shameful piece of discourtesy. Just as the King and Queen were about to perform their ablutions, suddenly up rushed the Earl of Suffolk, under pretence of a warrant from the Earl Marshal, and deliberately snatched the towel out of Sir Peter's hands—a graceless deed, for which, it is to be feared, the earl did not receive the punishment he richly merited.

In conclusion, there remain two manors both of which were held by the service of providing certain viands for the Royal table. The Lord of the Manor of Leiston in Essex was bound to arrange for the manufacture of a certain quantity of wafers for the consumption of King and Queen. The head of the Clopton family, into whose possession this manor ultimately passed, was entitled to receive liveries for himself and two men, the silver instruments employed in preparing the wafers, together with the linen used and a certain number of the ingredients. The subjoined list of the various commodities supplied to the Clopton who officiated at the coronation of James II. may possibly convey some slight idea as to the nature of these wafers :—

Imprimis un pipe de flower
Item XXX loaves de sugre.
Item xxli. de almonds pur ixille
Item ijli de powder de ginger
Item ½ li de saffron pur bastrons.
Item i pipe d'osey

Item iij gallons d'oyle
Item i dozeine aulnes de lyn pur covertures
Item ij Paris bulters
Item xl aulnes de streigners
Item xx aulnes de canvas
Item i dozein basins et bolles pur batre
Item fuel sufficient
Item vestures pur vostre suppliant et deux homes

The second service bearing a culinary character was that associated with the Lordship of the Manor of Addington, whose duty it was to prepare a mess called "gerout" or "dillgerout" and to present it at the Royal table. It is impossible to say of what materials this extraordinary mess of pottage was compounded. There is a theory possessed of some weight which describes it as being a mixture containing "almonds, mylk, the brawn of capons, sugar and spice, chicken parboyld, and chopped!" It is scarcely surprising to learn that when Thomas Leigh, who performed the service at Charles II.'s coronation, "brought up to the King's table a mess of pottage called 'gerout'" which was then duly presented by the Lord High Chancellor, the King "accepted his service but did not eat the pottage!"

The explanation of this, perhaps, the most peculiar of all the numerous services may doubtless be traced to the fact that Addington, also known as Bardolph's Manor, was at one time held by Tezelin, the Conqueror's cook. After passing through the hands of a large number of different owners, the manor was for a considerable period occupied by the Leigh family. At last, by a curious chain of circumstances it became the property of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of all people in the world. The transition from royal cook to Primate of All England is somewhat startling

The Duke of Devonshire carrying the Orb at the Coronation of George IV.

but the fact remains, and at the coronation of George IV. the claim having been asserted by Archbishop Manners Sutton it was duly recognised by the authorities and performed at the Banquet, by proxy of course.

Needless to say, there still remain quite a large number of claims to perform various services in addition to those already touched upon, which for one reason or another became extinct in earlier times. The Earls of Chester for instance claimed to carry the Sword Curtana, the Duke of Norfolk as Earl of Arundel and Premier Earl of England the right of redeeming the Sword of State which is offered at the altar. The Lord of the Manor of Tingreth in Essex also claimed the post of Chamberlain to the Queen and Keeper of her Chamber Door on the coronation day, receiving as his fee her bed and furniture together with 6*d*. per day out of the "Queen's gold." These, and other services of a similar character must be passed over in this place, while we dwell for a moment upon that which is apparently the youngest of all the many claims asserted; so far, that is to say, as written testimony goes. The right in question is that of the Westminster boys. They are not specifically mentioned by name until the coronation of James II. From that date, however, the right of the King's Scholars of S. Peter's School Westminster to be present, robed in their surplices, has invariably been recognised, while at the coronation of George IV. the town boys were admitted also. The duties assigned to these youthful, yet none the less loyal, subjects of the crown have been set forth as follows :— "It is to be noted that when the King entred the

choir the King's scholars of Westminster School in number forty, all in surplices being placed in a gallery adjoining to the great organ loft entertained her Majesty with this short prayer or salutation 'Vivat Regina Maria' which they continued to sing until His Majesty entred the choir whom they entertained in like manner with this prayer or salutation 'Vivat Jacobus Rex' which they continued to sing until His Majesty ascended the Theatre." As Dean Stanley, with his marvellous power of historical illustration, has expressed it, "the shouts of the Westminster boys from their recognised seats in the Abbey" may truly be described as representing in modern days, "the assent of the people of England to the election of the Sovereign."

IX

THE HONOURABLE THE KING'S CHAMPION

THE coronation of Richard II. stands out as one of the chief landmarks in the history of our great national solemnity. More than one of its own peculiar features appeared on that occasion for the first time, to remain, however, for generations to come, as an inseparable accompaniment of its splendour.

Worn out with the unwonted strain, the eleven-year-old monarch was carried at the conclusion of the Coronation Mass, down the Abbey Church, on the shoulders of his knights, in a state of utter collapse, being "oppressed with fatigue and long fasting." As the stately procession with Henry Percy, the Earl Marshal, at its head, swept out through the western doors, it was suddenly confronted by Sir John Dymoke, the Lord of the Manor of Scrivelsby. Mounted upon a magnificent steed,

(*Carlton & Son, photographers, Horncastle*)

Scrivelsby Court, the Home of the Dymokes

"the best but one" to be found in the Royal stables, and attended by his esquires, with the words "Dimico pro rege" (in playful allusion to his own name) inscribed upon his shield, this gallant knight had presented himself, in order that he might challenge to mortal combat all who would gainsay the paramount claims of his Sovereign Lord the King. To his utter discomfiture, Sir John Dymoke was greeted with but a chilly reception. In the curtest possible manner the Earl Marshal bade him begone, with the kindly advice that he had "better take his ease and rest awhile" and appear later on at the proper moment and in the proper place!

Such was the somewhat undignified entry of the Honourable the King's Champion upon the theatre of English History, that is to say, so far as the actual performance of the duties attached to his office are concerned. At the same time, the office of Champion, speaking in general terms, can be traced back to an exceedingly distant past. The word itself, derived from a Gothic root, signifies the act of contending. Hence, it came to be synonymous with the custom immortalised in the pages of Sir Walter Scott by which persons were permitted to appear in the lists and defend their rights by means of some duly accredited representative, while, in process of time, to play the part of Champion implied the chivalrous duty of taking arms from a mere sense of honour, in aid of the defenceless and oppressed.

The King's Champion, however, stands upon a somewhat narrower footing. The Emperor Otto I. employed Champions in order to decide the succession to the Empire, while in ducal Normandy, according to tradition, a certain noble house once

held the barony of Fonteney by the service of being hereditary Champions to their liege lords on the day of their inauguration. No sooner had the Conqueror and his train of Norman barons passed over the sea, than the head of this self-same family of Marmion (originally descended from Rolf the Ganger) became lords not only of Fontenaye but also

"Of Lutterward and Scrivelbaye
Of Tamworth tower and town."

A considerable portion, if not the whole, of these broad spreading acres now came to be held upon the same identical tenure as their Norman lands. For upwards of two centuries the house of Marmion continued to occupy the post of hereditary King's Champion, though for some obscure reason the actual duties attached to this office seemed to have remained an absolute dead letter. It has been conjectured, and with some show of probability, that the early Norman and Angevin kings felt compunction about displaying before the eyes of their new Saxon subjects a ceremony which might conceivably remind them, and moreover, in a very forcible manner, of their lost independence. Be this as it may, the fact remains, that neither the Conqueror's friend, the great Robert Dispensator, the founder of the English branch of the Marmions and first Lord of "Scrivelbaye," nor yet any of his seven immediate descendants, were permitted to fulfil this obligation, attached to their landed property, upon one single occasion. These estates passed on from father to son with varying fortunes. One Earl Robert Marmion found himself despoiled of all his possessions by King Henry I. Another, while engaged in the sacrilegious plunder of the monastery hard by his castle walls, fell into "the pit

which he had made for others" in literal truth, and was there ignominiously done to death. Others there were, however, who more nobly fulfilled the grand traditions of their line, notably, a fourth Earl Robert, who, after spending many years in the holding of high legal office, proceeded to sign Magna Charta and boldly flung down his defiance to King John. Best of all, there was the gallant Earl Philip, in whom we behold, as it were, the last and loveliest rays of a setting sun. He stood right loyally by Henry III., even in the worst days of that long and troublous reign, and, ere he was gathered to his fathers, the house of Marmion was still further enriched by a substantial token of royal gratitude, in the shape of the proud domain of Kenilworth.

Earl Philip passed away towards the close of the reign of Edward I. Four daughters survived him as co-heiresses, to bequeath the traditions they had inherited from their sire. Two only, however, of these ladies demand our attention, by whose matrimonial alliances the fate of the great Marmion estates came to be settled. Through Margaret or Mazera, the elder, Tamworth and all its wealthy appanages passed into the hands of the de Freville family; while Jane or Joan, the younger, with Scrivelsby as her portion, became the wife of one Sir Thomas de Ludlow. A son and a daughter were born to the new owners of Scrivelsby. The former, however, predeceased both his parents; so that a comparatively brief interval of time found a lady once more bearing rule as sole heiress over the ancestral estates.

It was not long, however, before Lady Margery bestowed her hand in turn to a Lincolnshire knight, Sir John Dymoke by name. In the marriage of this

(*Carlton & Sons, photographers, Horncastle*)

Tomb of Earl Philip de Marmion and his wife in Scrivelsby Church

couple the foundation was laid of that noble house, who, one and all, have delighted, century after century, to uphold their close and romantic connection with the English Crown, as Lords of the Manor of Scrivelsby, and Champions to the King's Majesty. Notice first of all the remarkable origin of their famous surname. It is believed to be the offspring of Totemism, *i.e.*, the belief that each family is descended from some particular plant or animal; in this case, of course, the oak. Indeed, there may be detected to this day, upon the Lion gate of Scrivelsby Court, a sixteenth century carving of the outline of an oak tree, with the latter "y" quaintly formed by the shape of the stem.

We now reach the coronation of Richard II. in 1377. Here were two parallel lines descended both of them from a common ancestor—Earl Philip de Marmion. Tamworth and Scrivelsby, the de Freviles and the Dymokes, forthwith proceeded to give vent to a jealousy which had been smouldering for many a year, and to pit themselves one against the other. A tough struggle consequently ensued for the privilege of bearing arms, if need be, on behalf of the new Sovereign. The Royal Championship now sprang into a position of importance unknown previously in England. The case was argued at length before the Court of Claims. Judgment was given, strange to say, for the younger and, apparently, weaker line, the house of Dymoke. Tamworth, so ruled the Court, was held by the tenure of ordinary Knight-service, Scrivelsby, however, by that of Grand Sergeanty, and the office of the Honourable the King's Champion was definitely proclaimed to be the inalienable possession of the last-named fief, *e.g.*, the Lincolnshire estate of the house of Marmion. The

Court delivered judgment in such terms as implied a willingness to listen to further evidence, if such should be forthcoming, and Sir Baldwin de Frevile was not slow in availing himself of this loophole. Two-and-twenty years later, at the coronation of Henry IV., he returned to the fray with renewed zest. Once more, however, did the militant Dame Margery, though now well stricken with years, succeed in routing her opponent off the field. The Championship was secured for ever to the Lord of the Manor of Scrivelsby, and from that day to this the Dymokes have remained in undisputed and indisputable possession of this ancient and most remarkable privilege.

The fourteenth century not only witnessed the elevation of the King's Champion to a position of genuine importance in the life of the country; it has also furnished us with certain valuable testimony as to the precise nature of this newly resuscitated privilege. Although the actual performance of its duties had remained dormant for many a generation; yet it is quite clear that the Championship was a fully recognised institution. When Dame Margery so stoutly asserted her rights, she embodied them in a petition which was forwarded to Henry IV. In this remarkable document she proceeded to claim certain fees as being due to her late husband, Sir John Dymoke, who had officiated as the representative of his wife at the preceding coronation. To these perquisites, so Dame Margery maintained, her late husband had been as fully entitled as any one of his predecessors in former ages.

Once again, an *Inquisitio post mortem* dating from the seventh year of the reign of Edward III., furnishes

some indirect but most valuable testimony as to the precise character of the service rendered by the Champion to his Sovereign. The late Mr. Arthur Taylor has translated a portion of the document as follows :— "The manour of Scrivelsby is holden by Grand Sergeanty, to wit, by the service of finding on the day of Coronation, an armed knight who shall prove by his body, if need be, that the King is true and rightful heir to the Kingdom."

Tenure by Grand Sergeanty, it may be remarked, represented the holding of certain lands *per magnum servitium—e.g.*, on condition of rendering some special service to the King, in this case, *inveniendi militem*—in case of need. Unlike the somewhat analogous tenure by Knight-service the holder was exempted from the usual feudal incidents such as aids and scutage.

In the Coronation Rolls of both Richard II. and Henry IV. we learn further, that certain definite perquisites were allotted to the holder of this office, namely, the horse, saddle, armour and furniture used by him at the ceremony. To these there were subsequently added a gold cup and cover weighing thirty-six ounces, together with twenty yards of crimson satin. These perquisites, however, could only be claimed as of right, in the event of a combat; otherwise their disposal remained dependent upon the royal pleasure. As time went on these privileges came to be diminished both in number and value. The crimson satin disappeared, while at the coronation of James II. it was held that the Champion was not entitled to a gold cup and cover, but to one of gilt only, and with this substitute he has ever after been forced to content himself.

(*Carlton & Sons, photographers, Horncastle*)

The Entrance Hall, Scrivelsby Court

The late Canon Lodge, in his delightful volume on the history of the King's Champion, has quoted an Anglo-Norman ballad, which describes in quaint but vigorous language the curious history of Scrivelsby and its noble owners.

"The Norman Barons Marmyon
At Norman Court held high degree,
Knights and champions every one
To him who won broad Scrivelsby.

Those Lincoln lands the Conqueror gave,
That England's glove they should convey
To knight renowned amongst the brave,
To baron bold of Fonteney.

The royal grants through sire to son
Devolv'd direct in *capite*,
Until deceased Phil Marmyon,
When rose fair Joan of Scrivelsby.

From London city on the Thames
To Berwick town upon the Tweed,
Came gallant all of courtly names
At feet of Joan their suit to plead.

Yet maugre all this goodly band,
The maiden's smiles young Ludlow won,
Her heart and hand, her grant and land,
The sword and shield of Marmyon.

Out upon Time, the scurvy knave,
Soiler of youth, hard-hearted churl,
Hurrying to one common grave
Goodwife and ladie, hind and earl.

Out on Time—since the world began
No Sabbath hath his greyhound limb
In coursing man, devoted man,
To age and death, out, out on him!

In Lincoln's chancel, side by side,
Their effigies from marble hewn,
The *anni* written when they died,
Repose De Ludlow and Dame Joan.

One daughter fair survived alone
  One son, deceased in infancy
De Ludlow and De Marmyon
  United thus in Margery.

And she was wooed as maids have been
  And won as maids are sure to be,
When gallant youths in Lincoln green
  Do suit, like Dymoke, fervently.

Sir John de Dymoke claimed of right
  The Championship through Margery,
And 'gainst Sir Baldwin Frevile, knight,
  Prevailed as lord of Scrivelsby.

And ever since, when England's kings
  Are diadem'd—no matter where,
The Champion Dymoke boldly flings
  His glove, should treason venture there.

On gallant steed, in armour bright,
  His visor clos'd and couch'd his lance,
Proclaimeth he the monarch's right
  To England, Ireland, Wales, and France.

Then bravely cry with Dymoke bold,
  'Long may the King triumphant reign!'
And when fair hands the sceptre hold,
  More bravely still—'Long live the Queen!'"

For nearly two centuries onward then the Dymokes occupied this commanding position in English national life, almost analogous to that of the Marmions before them. Passing over the three first Champions of the new line, we arrive at Sir Robert Dymoke, who played a very leading part in the Wars of the Roses, and to his own ultimate cost. By reason of his matrimonial alliances, Sir Robert happened to be closely connected with the great Welles family, who were Lancastrians to the very core. Hence, when Sir Robert Welles, his brother-in-law, proceeded to

rally the Fenmen of Lincolnshire to the standard of Henry VI., the aid of the Dymokes was not sought in vain. Edward IV., transported with fury, forthwith summoned Sir Thomas Dymoke and Lord Welles, the respective heads of the two houses, to London. These rebel leaders hesitated, and finally sought the refuge of sanctuary, receiving, however, a prompt pardon. A very short interval elapsed ere tidings arrived of the militant proceedings of young Sir Robert Welles. The Yorkist armies were at once set in motion, and marched for Lincolnshire. The ragged array of forty thousand peasants, who gallantly confronted them, could make little effectual resistance, and at the battle of "Lose Coat Field" were utterly routed. Just before the battle commenced Sir Thomas Dymoke and Lord Welles were beheaded under circumstances of revolting treachery, and as soon as the battle was over and done, the unfortunate son of the latter met with the same untimely and cruel fate. Thus, the ten-year-old heir, Sir Richard Dymoke, would have been left in a pitiful plight, had it not been for the curious piece of irony by which the murderer of the father became the warm benefactor of the son. Basking as he did in the full sunshine of royal favour, Sir Richard attended no less than three Sovereigns as their Champion, and finally rose to the high position of Treasurer to King Henry VIII. His son, Sir Edward Dymoke, was, in the same manner, Champion to no less than three monarchs, Edward VI., Mary I., and Elizabeth; while, in the general politics of the nation he came to play a still more commanding part. When the Lincolnshire poor, smarting with rage for the loss of the monasteries, proceeded to raise the banner of resistance to

(*Carlton & Sons, photographers, Horncastle*)
The Champions' Cups at Scrivelsby Court

Henry VIII.'s blood-thirsty tyranny, Sir Edward Dymoke and the remainder of the county magnates found themselves situated between the upper and the nether millstones in very deed and truth. Personal wishes counted for nothing, or less than nothing, in circumstances such as these, and whether he liked it or not, Sir Edward was compelled to take sides with the Abbot of Barlings, and the body of rebels who heralded the great northern movement usually known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. It speaks volumes for the astuteness and statecraft of Sir Edward that, after an experience such as this, he should have succeeded in escaping the dire wrath of King Harry, to die peacefully in his bed upwards of twenty years later.

With the next Champion, Sir Robert Dymoke, the fortunes of this noble family attained perhaps to their zenith. He was one of the faithful few who remained stubbornly loyal to his ancestral beliefs through good and evil report alike. The prelate who at that time was ruling over the see of Lincoln, was one Dr. Thomas Cowper, a man representing the very worst type of arrogant and vindictive Protestantism. Neither the distinguished rank nor the personal qualities—not even, in fact, the failing health—of the King's Champion, succeeded in stemming the current of Cowper's unrighteous zeal. Sir Robert was removed from the home of his fathers and flung into Lincoln Gaol, where he speedily succumbed to his sufferings—a martyr, in the estimation of the whole country-side, to his fervid and undying loyalty to the faith of his ancestors.

From that date onward the fortunes of this great family commenced to wane. One and all, as we

should naturally assume, were Cavaliers to the backbone, and the very strength of their convictions cost them dear. While Sir Charles Dymoke bequeathed by his last will and testament the sum of £2000 to the support of the throne, his nephew, who followed him in the office of Champion, was haled before the minions of the Parliament at Westminster for holding "a lewd and malicious title." For this offence (?) he was condemned to a fine of £7000! Thanks to these misfortunes, both the Scrivelsby estates and their owners came in process of time to be terribly reduced; and it was long before symptoms of recovery appeared.

The Champion who officiated at the coronation of James II., in 1685, was another Sir Charles Dymoke. He was unfortunate enough to meet with a somewhat ill-omened accident upon that great occasion. Immediately after the proclamation of the Challenge, Sir Charles, in moving towards the King for the purpose of kissing his hand, stumbled heavily, so that he measured his length upon the floor of the Hall. "See you, love," cried the Queen, "what a weak Champion you have!" Sir Charles made the best apologies he could under the circumstances, pleading ill-health and the weight of his armour, none of which excuses were true. The King, however, merely laughed!

What would have been James' reply could he but have foreseen the disastrous events of 1689! This ill-starred Champion passed away very shortly after the coronation, but there were not a few whose minds recurred to the story of his collapse, in years to come.

The next Champion but one was Sir Lewis

Dymoke, who attained to the great age of ninety-one years. He performed the duties of his office at the coronations of George I. and George II., and succeeded in outliving every one of his near relations. On his death in 1760, Scrivelsby was bequeathed to a distant cousin, who died, however, almost immediately. To Sir John Dymoke, son of the latter, there fell the duty of acting as Champion for George III., at the famous ceremony when, according to time-honoured tradition, the gage as soon as flung down was accepted by no less a personage than "bonny Prince Charlie" himself.

The ceremonial observed at the performance of the Challenge must at one time have been considerably more elaborate than it subsequently became. Originally, the Champion seems to have figured not only at the coronation Banquet with which his name has been indissolubly associated for many a generation, but also in the course of the grand Procession which took place earlier in the day. At the coronation of Henry IV., according to Sir William Segar, the Challenge was repeated both in Westminster Hall, and also at six different stations in the city, prior to the ceremony. It would obviously seem more natural for the delivery of the Challenge to precede, rather than to follow the actual crowning of the Sovereign. Consequently, its relegation during later years to almost the concluding scene in the entire solemnity of the coronation, and long after the great central act has been performed, appears to reduce the ceremony to the position of a mere historical relic.

Whether this be a true criticism or no, the ceremony of the Challenge was repeated with

The Procession of the King's Champion, Sir Charles Dymoke, at James II.'s Coronation Banquet

automatic regularity upon the arrival of each coronation; indeed, it appeared to stand upon as secure and durable a foundation as any other of the main features in the "hallowing" of our English kings. The ceremonial which was thus employed, century after century, must have been intensely impressive. Immediately before the Bringing up of the Second Course at the coronation Banquet, a short procession advanced from the bottom of the Hall. First of all, came two trumpeters, with the magnificent falls of their instruments embroidered with the arms of the Dymoke family. These were followed by the sergeant-trumpeter, together with two sergeants-at-arms; all three bearing their ponderous maces of office. Then came the two Esquires of the Champion, armed with lance and shield respectively, while behind them marched a member of the Heralds' College, carrying in his hands a paper on which were written the actual words of the Challenge. Last of all, there rode the Champion himself, clad in full armour, and with four gorgeously attired pages in attendance. The armour worn by Sir Lewis Dymoke at the coronation of George I. is thus described:—"One suit of armour cap-à-pie, white and parcel gilt of King Charles II.; one white manifair; one short gauntlet white engraven and parcel gilt; one target painted with his arms and set round with silk fringe; one sword with scabbard of crimson velvet; one belt of crimson velvet."

The Champion was flanked on either side by the Earl Marshal and the Lord High Constable, arrayed in their state robes and coronets, each of them bearing his official staff. Then, from the lower end

of the Hall the Herald proclaimed in ringing tones the formula of the Challenge—

"If any person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay our sovereign lord ——, king of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith, son and next heir to our sovereign lord ——, the last king deceased, to be right heir to the imperial crown of this realm of Great Britain, or that he ought not to enjoy the same; here is his Champion, who saith that he lieth, and is a false traitor, being ready in person to combat with him; and in this quarrel will adventure his life against him, on what day soever shall be appointed."

The glove was then flung down and in a few moments restored to the Champion by the Herald, after which the procession advanced to the centre of the Hall, where the same quaint ceremonial was repeated. The third and final halt for this same purpose took place at the foot of the steps beneath the royal table. The Champion having made a profound reverence to his Sovereign, a gilt cup full of wine was brought by the royal Cup-bearer. King and Champion drank to one another in turn, and after making his obeisance once more the Champion took his departure from the Hall, carrying with him the cup and its gilt cover by way of fee. It is curious to note that the gold cups which are still preserved at Scrivelsby Court are almost invariably found to be without their covers. The inference to be drawn is this, that in the excitement and confusion occasioned by the quaffing of his Majesty's health, the Champion forgot to replace the cover upon the cup and consequently retired from the Hall leaving this portion of his property behind him!

As we have already remarked, the custom of Trial by Battle was of by no means infrequent occurrence, altogether apart from the ceremonial attached to the

Triumphal Arch, erected outside Westminster Hall in honour of the Coronation of George II. and Queen Caroline, showing the entry of the King's Champion

delivery of the challenge. Even a murderer was in a position to claim this privilege unless his accuser were "a woman, a priest, an infant, or of the age of 60 or lame or blind." After a solemn oath, the

mortal combat would commence, and continue till one or other of the contending parties collapsed. If it were the accused, he received the gallows for his reward ; but if he succeeded in killing his adversary, or prolonging the struggle, "till the stars appear in the evening," he was acquitted. Attempts were made to regulate this practice in the time of the Plantagenets ; after which, however, it lapsed into complete

Henry Dymoke, the Deputy-Champion, entering Westminster Hall at the Coronation of George IV.

desuetude. All of a sudden, in the year 1817, one Abraham Thornton, accused of murder, startled the English public by appealing to this antique custom of the realm. The appeal could by no possible method be gainsaid; consequently, his opponent dreading the possible issue of a mortal conflict, Thornton was acquitted, and carried off his discharge in triumph. The subject was forthwith taken up by the Legislature in the following year, and Wager of Battle was formally abolished, for good and all, whether in civil or criminal cases. Now, the ceremony connected with the King's Champion displayed a marked resemblance to Trial by Battle, alike in its general details, and also in the phraseology with which various mediæval writers describe it. Hence, it was naturally assumed that this delightfully interesting and old-world custom had likewise undergone this process of painless extinction at the hands of Parliament. Three years later, however, it was revived, with all the pomp and circumstance of its ancient splendour, at the coronation of George IV. Two contemporary accounts among others have descended to us. The first is attributed to Sir Walter Scott. He tells us :—

"The Champion was performed as of right by young Dymoke, a fine looking youth, but bearing too much perhaps the appearance of a maiden knight to be the challenger of the world in a King's behalf. He threw down his gauntlet, however, with becoming manhood and showed as much horsemanship as the crowd of squires and knights around him would permit. On the whole, this striking part of the exhibition somewhat disappointed me, for I would have had the Champion less embarrassed by the assistants and at liberty to put his horse on the

grand pas, and yet the young lord of Scrivelsby looked and behaved extremely well." The other account by Haydon is of a far more complimentary character :—"The Hall doors opened and outside in twilight a man in dark shadowed armour appeared against the shining sky. He then moved, and passed into darkness under the arch, and suddenly Wellington, Howard, and the Champion stood in full view with the doors closed behind them. This was certainly the finest sight of the day. The Herald read the challenge ; the glove was thrown down. They all then proceeded to the Throne."

It is curious to note that the duties attached to the King's Champion at both the first and last occasions on which they were performed were placed in the hands of a deputy. As, at the coronation of Richard II., Dame Margery was represented by Sir John Dymoke, her lord, so, at the coronation of George IV., young Henry Dymoke fulfilled the duties which his father Sir John was unable to carry out in consequence of his clerical character.

From this last named date onwards, the glory has departed from Scrivelsby, never, it is to be feared, to return : for, with the coronation of William IV. this charming and unique ceremony was flung to the winds. Although the Dymokes are still to be found in their old ancestral home, the mail-clad figure has ceased to darken the venerable portals of Westminster Hall, and a long chapter has closed on the history of the Honourable the King's Champion.

X

THE GRAND PROGRESS FROM THE TOWER OF LONDON TO THE PALACE OF WESTMINSTER

THE coronation of Richard II., memorable as it was for the first appearance of the Royal Champion, was signalized by a further innovation, no less appropriate and even more picturesque. On the day preceding his coronation the youthful monarch, clad in white garments, was met by the Lord Mayor and other leading City fathers, at a point hard by the Tower. Here there was marshalled one of the earliest, but assuredly by no means the least magnificent, of the many state Progresses which our country has witnessed. An immense variety of gorgeous entertainments, coupled with the manifestation of general enthusiasm, on the part of the loyal citizens of London, towards the Black Prince's son, awaited Richard's eyes. Attended by a glittering host of

retainers, he passed upon his way, through "the street called La Chepe," through Temple Bar, past the splendid palaces which then adorned the "strand" on the riverside, and the garden belonging to the Convent (Covent Garden) or Abbey of Westminster on the north; next through the little village of Cheeringe, till at length he arrived within the precincts of the ancient church, in which his mighty grandfather had only a short while before been laid to rest.

This particular coronation thus afforded at once the model, and the precedent for a custom, the most popular perhaps of all the numerous festivities attending our great national ceremony, and which survived, as a matter of fact, until nearly the close of the seventeenth century. A few days prior to the actual date fixed for the coronation it was customary for a new Sovereign to take up his abode at the mighty fortress of the Tower; which, down to the reign of Elizabeth, was constantly utilised as a royal residence, as being "the castell royall, and chief house of safety" in the Kingdom. There was indeed an inner meaning attached to this practice; namely, the desire, on the part of the Sovereign, to bestow a gentle intimation upon the somewhat boisterous and self-asserting inhabitants of the City of London, that they had found a master, who fully intended his rule to be something over and above a mere shadow. The solemn Vigil of the Bath, together with the creation of a large body of new Knights, who had been duly "bathed and shriven according to the old usage of England" shortly followed, after which these freshly dubbed knights were entertained at a royal feast.

Meanwhile, lavish and expensive preparations, not very dissimilar to those so well known in our own time, had been in train, for the purpose of according a truly loyal welcome to the new monarch. Streets were cleansed. Houses were decorated. Triumphal arches were erected. The route of the procession was lined with the city companies, habited in their robes of office. Nothing, in short, was left undone which might conceivably increase the brilliancy of so auspicious a moment. The actual procession generally comprised the royal household, to whose ranks were further added the Princes of the blood, the Peers, the Judges, and the Great Officers of State, as well as the newly created Knights of the Bath, arrayed in "blue gowns with hoods and tokens of white silk upon their shoulders." The King himself usually rode with bared head beneath a canopy, which was borne by four knights. The Queen followed her lord in a gorgeously caparisoned litter, gleaming with white damask, while a large bevy of noble ladies followed their mistress in chariots.

Numerous accounts have descended to our own day of this most fascinating feature of the coronation solemnity. Unless the mediæval chroniclers be altogether untrustworthy, this grand cavalcade from the Tower to Westminster must have fully equalled the great pageants of modern times, in the general magnificence of its setting.

Henry IV., for instance, was attended by no less than 6000 horsemen in all, while streams of white and red wine flowed in rich profusion from the fountains which adorned Cheapside and other streets. Look again at the charming description of this royal Progress which is contained in the

The Procession of Edward VI. from the Tower to Westminster, on February 19, 1547, previous to his Coronation

(*From a coeval painting at Cowdray, Sussex, the seat of Viscount Montague*)

account of the coronation of Elizabeth of York, Consort of Henry VII. Apparalled in white cloth of gold, with her head surmounted by a circlet of gold and precious stones, "her fayre yelow hair hanging down playne behinde her back," the Queen passed through the Streets of the City to Westminster. All of these had been "clensed, dressed, and besene with clothes of tapestrie and arras; and some streets, as Cheepe, hanged with ryche clothe of golde, velvet, and silke; and along the streets, from the Towre to Powles, stode in order all the crafts of London in their liveries; and in divers places of the citie were ordeyned singing children, some arayed like angelles, and other like virgins, to sing sweete songes as her grace passed by."

Among the numerous entertainments organized in honour of Edward VI. a rope was fastened from the battlements of S. Paul's Cathedral to an anchor at the Dean's Gate; or, to quote Holinshed's quaint description—"Paul's steeple laie at anchor!" No sooner did the royal boy make his appearance, than an Arragonese sailor proceeded to perform a tight-rope dance, and "plaied many pretty toies" upon the said rope to the delight of all spectators, the young King more especially.

Those to whom the arrangements of Queen Mary's coronation were committed, evidently determined themselves to outdo, if possible, the festivities of the preceding reign. They varied the above Blondin-like performance, by rigging the cathedral spire with yards resembling a ship's mast, upon which a foolhardy Dutchman performed a number of gambols and antics, not omitting to seat himself astride the weathercock some 500 feet above the ground!

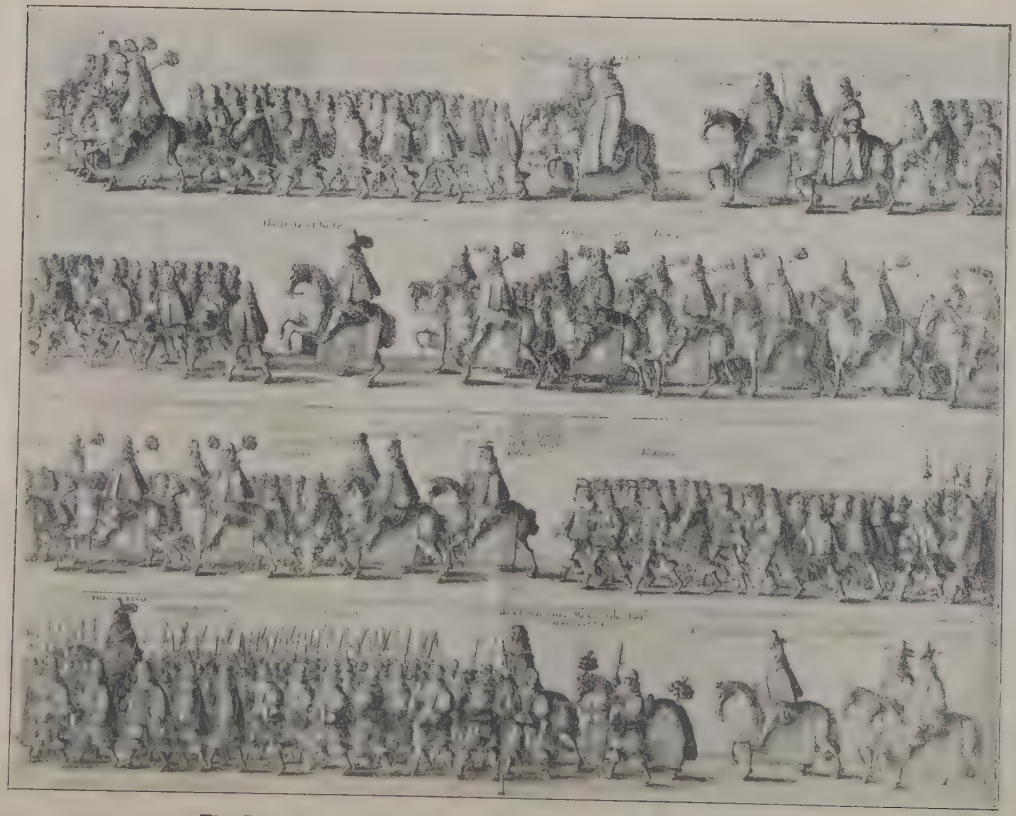
When the Stuart dynasty mounted the Throne of England the death knell was sounded of this charming and popular custom. At the accession of James I. the pestilence was stalking the land from end to end; in fact, during the sultry July weather in which the coronation took place, it was literally raging with full fury, throughout the City. In that one week alone no fewer than 857 persons perished before the ravages of this fell destroyer. The time-honoured Progress from the Tower was therefore dropped from fear of possible infection. The merest handful of London citizens received permission to be present at the ceremony itself, while only a few days later, a proclamation was issued, which actually forbade suitors to present themselves at the Law Courts in Westminster until the ensuing winter. This unfortunate precedent having once become an established fact, Charles I. had little hesitation in following the lead. He alleged a precisely similar reason for the non-observance of the ancient custom; although, in reality, his motives were of a very different character. At that particular moment a war with Spain happened to be in progress and the King was above all anxious to evade by any means in his power the disagreeable necessity of consulting his Parliamentary advisers!

A different state of things was however inaugurated by Charles II. The "Merry Monarch," always on the alert for gaiety of whatever kind, promptly restored the old historic pageant to its recognized position. A magnificent display of unaccustomed splendour was the result, all the more effective and popular doubtless, by contrast with the dead level of drab commonplace which had characterised the previous ten or fifteen years of Puritan misrule. "So

glorious was the show," remarks Pepys, "with gold and silver, we were not able to look at it. Our eyes at last being so overcome."

This alas! was but the swansong of a delightful old custom, which, at coronation after coronation, had afforded intense delight to many thousands of spectators, to whom the ceremonial within the walls of the Abbey was as a sealed book. Shortly after the commencement of the next reign, various estimates were prepared, in order that some idea might be conveyed to the King's mind as to the exact cost of the several portions of the coronation ceremony. No sooner did James II. realise that the procession would make demands upon the royal purse, to the extent of one half the amount which he proposed to expend in covering the Queen Consort with gewgaws, than he peremptorily commanded it to be omitted. With the ingrained selfishness which was at once the curse and the ultimate ruin of his whole career, James Stuart thus proceeded to fling to the far winds, the feelings of vast masses of his willing subjects, while he squandered no less a sum than one hundred thousand pounds upon the adornment of his Queen. In the epigrammatic language of Lord Macaulay, he "determined to be profuse where he ought to have been frugal, and niggardly where he might pardonably have been profuse."

From that time onwards the old Royal Progress has ceased to occupy any place upon the theatre of English history. Not until the coronation of our late beloved Queen did a repetition take place in any shape or form. An attempt was then made to revive the custom of her forefathers. A somewhat tame combination of the Royal Progress and the



The Royal Progress of Charles II. from the Tower to Westminster

State Procession of the following day was the result. Few, however, of the old characteristic features were retained, and this revived Royal Progress would doubtless have presented but a mean appearance beside the gorgeous ceremonial which heralded the entry of Elizabeth of York or Anne Boleyn to the age-worn portals of the Palace and the Abbey.

At the coronation of the last named Queen this mediæval pageant must undoubtedly have attained to its zenith. No more brilliant or picturesque piece of word-painting has ever been drawn than the description by the late Professor Froude of the unhappy Anne Boleyn, when, surrounded by a train of magnificently decked followers, she was borne along amidst the resounding cheers of a countless host.

"On the morning of the 31st of May, the families of the London citizens were stirring early in all houses. From Temple Bar to the Tower the streets were fresh strewed with gravel. The footpaths were railed off along the whole distance and occupied on one side by the Guilds, their workmen and apprentices, on the other by the City Constables and Officials in their gaudy uniforms 'with their staves in hand for to cause the people to keep good room and order.' Cornhill and Gracechurch Street had dressed their fronts in scarlet and crimson, in arras and tapestry and the rich carpetwork from Persia and the East. Cheapside, to outshine her rivals, was draped even more splendidly in cloth of gold and tissue and velvet. The Sheriffs were pacing up and down on their great Flemish horses hung with liveries, and all the windows were thronged with ladies crowding to see the procession pass. At length, the Tower guns opened, the grim gates

rolled back, and under the archway in the bright May sunshine the great column began slowly to defile. It is no easy matter to picture to ourselves the blazing trail of splendour which in such a pageant must have drawn along the London streets —those streets which now we know so black and smoke-grimed themselves, then radiant with masses of colour, gold and crimson and violet. Yet there it was and there the sun could shine upon it and tens of thousands of eyes were gazing on the scene out of the crowded lattices.

"Glorious as the spectacle was, perhaps however it passed unheeded. Those eyes were watching all for another object which now drew near. In an open space behind the Constable there was seen approaching 'a white chariot' drawn by two palfreys in white damask which swept the ground, a golden canopy above it making music with silver bells and in the chariot sat the observed of all observers, the beautiful occasion of all this glittering homage—Fortune's plaything of the hour, the Queen of England—Queen at last—borne along upon the waves of this sea of glory, breathing the perfume incense of greatness which she had risked her fair name, her delicacy, her honour, her self-respect, to win, and she had won it.

"There she sat, dressed in white tissue robes, her fair hair flowing loose over her shoulders, and her temples circled with a light coronet of gold and diamonds — most beautiful — loveliest — most favoured, perhaps, as she seemed at that hour, of all England's daughters."

XI

THE ASSEMBLING OF THE PEERS IN WESTMINSTER HALL; THE ELEVATION OF THE KING; AND THE PROCESSION OF THE REGALIA

THE position assigned to Westminster Hall down to the coronation of William IV. was originally one of equal importance with the Abbey. With the year 1831, however, a new era set in, and a wholesale reduction of the general ceremonial was inaugurated. The service in the Abbey could not well be dispensed with, or even abbreviated to any very appreciable extent, although an outrageous suggestion was actually made to this effect. Westminster Hall was therefore singled out to feel the heavy hand of reform. It was stripped of all the grandeur which had distinguished it in pristine days

of glory, and left in a bare, naked condition, which could only be described as "melancholy and reproachful."

Change was in the air. A curtailment of expenditure was demanded on all sides. The scandalous wastefulness of the previous coronation had roused the just resentment of many, and accordingly, a reaction set in, from which we are still suffering to-day. This innovation was not allowed to pass, however, without a protest. General disappointment was felt at the loss of the Procession, always a popular feature, to say nothing of the degradation of Westminster Hall. As a contemporary writer well expressed it :—"With a wish to coincide in all measures of just and honourable economy, we cannot as Englishman resist some feelings of regret that we should have witnessed a coronation when the noble Hall of Rufus has been left in its ordinary desolation, and our natural hospitality proved to be so decayed, that a King of England cannot be permitted to feast his nobles in his ancestral banqueting-house, not even for once in his reign. The peers and rich commoners ought to have subscribed more largely to the encouragement of trade, the support of their Sovereign's dignity, and the becoming splendour of the national festivity."

The early morning of the coronation invariably saw Westminster Hall thronged with a vast crowd of eager and expectant persons, some of them arrayed in their garments of state, duly prepared for the grand ceremony, in which many of them were entitled to take a part; others, no less alert and excited, occupying seats in the galleries which rose

in the recesses beneath the windows, on either side of the Hall, as privileged spectators.

The right of walking in the coronation Procession from the Hall to the Abbey was possessed in former days by an immense number of persons. The marshalling of so large a concourse of people must indeed have presented difficulties of an exceedingly formidable character. On more than one occasion, a total collapse has appeared to be the order of the day. The very building which at one time or another has witnessed some of the darkest tragedies and some of the grandest pageants in our national story, has also been the scene of the ludicrous antics of the Barons of the Cinque Ports, while they strutted about in a vain endeavour to wield their canopy in a manner at once graceful and practical; combined with the hopeless bungling of the College of Heralds and other great Officers of the realm. Precedent counts for a great deal in the ceremonial of a coronation, and assuredly, the precedent of muddle and incompetency is one which has been followed in the most loyal, thorough-going manner by some of its leading officials at different periods. Circumstances, however, have changed, and we of the present day are not too wise to ignore the example furnished by such a wholesale collapse as the coronation of George III. Hence, there can be no possible question as to the grandeur and dignity of the approaching ceremony.

Down to the time of George IV. it was customary for the Peers and Peeresses to assemble at the ancient Palace of Westminster on the coronation morning, robed in the dress and bearing the coronets of their respective rank in their hands.

The former were ushered into the House of Lords, the latter into the Painted Chamber. Meantime,

Queen Victoria's Imperial Crown of State

a procession was in process of formation in the Court of Requests. It consisted for the most part of various legal representatives of the land, together with the City fathers and

others. At a given hour this procession was conducted in the following order, into Westminster Hall, where it was arranged along each side of the building :—

The Six Clerks in Chancery.
King's Chaplains having dignities.
Aldermen of London.
Masters in Chancery.
Serjeants at Law.
The Solicitor-General. The Attorney-General.
The King's Ancient Serjeants.
Esquires of the Body.
Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.
Barons of the Exchequer and Justices of both Benches.
Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Chief Justice of Common Pleas.
Master of the Rolls. Chief Justice of the King's Bench.
Privy Councillors, who are not Peers.

While all this was taking place, the curious custom, which at one period was the chief mark of distinction, associated with the office of Lord Great Chamberlain had already been carried out. Bearing in his hand the royal shirt, which had been designed with due regard to the ceremony of anointing, together with S. Edward's Shirt, this functionary proceeded to arouse his Sovereign from slumber ; and also, to lend him his aid in putting on the splendid Parliament Robes of crimson velvet. Thus attired, the King was conducted to the House of Lords, where he found himself face to face with his Peers. Another grand procession was then formed in the Court of Requests by the various officers at Arms ; after which the whole body proceeded in solemn state, marching for the most part four abreast,

into Westminster Hall arranged in the following order :—

Two Pursuivants at Arms.
Baronesses.
Barons.
Bishops.
Two Pursuivants at Arms.
Viscountesses.
Viscounts.
Two Heralds.
Countesses.
Earls.
Two Heralds.
Marchionesses.
Marquesses.
Two Heralds.
Duchesses.
Dukes.

Norroy King-at-Arms.	Clarencieux King-at-Arms.
Lord Privy Seal.	Lord President of the Council.
Lord High Treasurer.	Archbishop of York.
Lord High Chancellor.	Archbishop of Canterbury.

Sergeants-at-Arms.
Gentlemen Usher of the Black Rod. Garter King-at-Arms.
Lord High Steward, with his white Staff.

THE KING.

Train-bearers, six eldest sons of Peers.
Master of the Robes.
Captain of the Horse in Waiting.
Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber.
Two Grooms of the Bedchamber.

At this point a ceremony of the very deepest interest used anciently to take place. Indeed, no portion of our coronation ceremonial would seem to bear a closer analogy to the "elevation" of Gothic and German sovereigns. Allusion has been made in a previous chapter to the curious marble seat, at the upper end of Westminster Hall, from which the

time honoured expression—"the King's Bench"—has derived its origin. This seat used at one time to be occupied by the Lord Chancellor. Accordingly, it was appropriated to the administration of justice; but, what is still more to our present purpose, it was also employed by the Sovereign, prior to his coronation in the Abbey. There seems little doubt but that a ceremonial "elevation," or lifting of the Sovereign into this marble seat, was performed by the Peers, so soon as the procession had reached the Hall. If this be the case, we have lost by our neglect, an exceedingly close link with the remote past. The use of King Edward's Chair in the Abbey may conceivably point to a kindred idea; but it must be remembered, that the Sovereign merely takes his seat in this particular chair, and is not ceremonially enthroned; as would appear to be the procedure in the case of the "King's Bench." To give two illustrations only: in the "Little Device," it was ordained that Henry VII. should come "by vj of the clock from his chambre into Westminster Hall, where he shall sitt, under clothe of estate in the marble chaire apparelled with clothes and quisshons of gold bawdekyn, as it apperteigneth." Once more, at the commencement of the same fifteenth century, it is recorded that Catherine of France, the Queen Consort of Henry V., was "conveighed into Westminster Hal and ther set in the throne at the table of marble at the upper end of the Hal."

As soon as the King, attended by the Great Officers of State, and the two Primates together with Garter King-at-Arms and Black Rod had ascended to his throne, he was joined by the Queen, who was ushered from the Court of Wards, together with

her Chamberlain and ladies. A throne, two steps lower than that of his Majesty, was prepared for his Consort, in which she at once took her place.

The last act, connected with this solemn entry of

Sir Thomas and Sir Henry St. George Clarencieux and Norroy Kings-at-Arms at the Coronation of James II.

King, Queen, and Barons into the ancient Hall of William Rufus, consisted in the delivery of the three swords, which were to be carried during the ceremony, and also the magnificent Sword of State. All these were brought up by the Master of the

Jewel House together with the great Golden Spurs, and delivered by him to the Lord High Constable. Last of all, they were taken by the Lord Great Chamberlain, and laid by him on the table in front of the King.

At this point a somewhat analogous ceremony was simultaneously performed in the Abbey Church. The right of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster to guard the Regalia during the night preceding the coronation has for centuries been recognised, without the smallest deviation from ancient tradition. Indeed, this custom is neither more nor less than an official acknowledgment that the Abbey is still, in a technical sense, the home of our National Regalia—although, in actual practice, the privilege has ceased for upwards of two centuries to possess anything beyond the merest shadow of a substance.

At an early hour on the coronation morning the entire collegiate body of the Abbey Church were wont to assemble, the Dean and Prebendaries in the Jerusalem Chamber, or "high dining room"; the Precentor, Minor Canons, Lay Vicars and Choristers together with the choir of his Majesty's Chapel Royal in the adjoining room, usually entitled the College Hall; the Head Master, Undermaster and King's scholars of Westminster School; who also found a place on the Elizabethan foundation of the Abbey Church in the Jericho Parlour, or "Organ Chamber." The Dean then delivered the various items of the Regalia to the members of his Chapter, who numbered in those palmy days no less than twelve Prebendaries. This accomplished, a procession was formed in the following order,

the chief dignitaries being habited in the magnificent Westminster copes :—

The King's Scholars of Westminster School.
The Sergeant of the Vestry.
The Children of the Choir of Westminster.
The Children of the Chapel Royal.
The Choir of Westminster.
The Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal.
The Precentor of Westminster Abbey and the
Under Master of Westminster School.
The Confessor to the Household and the
Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal.
The Prebendaries of Westminster.
The Dean.

In this order, then, did the procession of the Collegiate body of the Abbey escort the Regalia, making its way through the long aisles of their church, until the Sacrarium was reached. The Dean having advanced to the steps, the members of the Chapter stepped forward, and one by one delivered the Regalia which they respectively carried into the hands of their chief, who placed them reverently upon the High Altar itself.

A pause then ensued, during which the members of the Chapter remained in their places, within the Sacrarium, the Minor Canons and the lay members of the foundation being grouped together hard by. No sooner, however, were the general preparations in Westminster Hall completed than a signal was given. The Procession of the Regalia was at once reformed, and continued on its appointed way. At this moment, the King's Scholars and other representatives of Westminster School took their departure and retired to their gallery, while the Procession itself passed out through the great north

porch with a considerable amount of flourishing of trumpets, in the following order :—

The Sergeant of the Vestry, with his gilt Virge.
The Children of the Choir of Westminster.
The Children of the Chapel Royal.
The Choir of Westminster.
The Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal.
The Confessor of the Household, and the Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal.
Pursuivants-at-Arms, two abreast.
Heralds-at-Arms, two abreast.
Norroy King-at-Arms. Clarencieux King-at-Arms.
The King's Regalia borne by the Dean and Prebendaries as follows :—
The Dean carrying S. Edward's Crown,
on a cushion of cloth of gold.
The Orb with the Cross.
The Sceptre with the Dove.
The Sceptre with the Cross.
S. Edward's Staff.
The Queen's Regalia, borne by Prebendaries.
Queen Edith's Crown, on a cushion of cloth of gold.
The Sceptre and the Cross.
The Ivory Rod.
After which followed, borne also by the hands of Prebendaries:
The Bible.
The Chalice.
The Paten.
The remainder of the Prebendaries of Westminster, seniors first.

In this manner then were the national Regalia carried from their ancient home, almost from beneath the shadow of the shrine of the sainted Confessor. They were solemnly ushered in through the main entrance of Westminster Hall, and the Procession, displaying as it did, such a curious mixture of Church and State, advanced up its whole length. At last, the steps of the throne were reached, and

The Procession of the Regalia at the Coronation of George IV. Dean Ireland and the Prebendaries of Westminster delivering the Regalia into the hands of the King

the choir divided so as to form a lane on either side through which the very reverend and reverend bearers of the Regalia could proceed. Headed by Garter King-at-Arms, these ecclesiastics, whose duty it was to make three obeisances, in the course of their journey up the Hall, ascended the steps, and halted in front of the table upon which the swords and spurs were already reposing. One by one were the Regalia delivered by each Prebendary, on bended knee, into the hands of the Dean, by whom in turn they were given to the Lord High Constable and the Lord Great Chamberlain, to be laid upon the table in front of the Sovereign. The task of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster was now at an end; and the treasures lately under their protection having been delivered into the hands of Majesty itself, they retired to the lower end of the Hall, attended as before by the Precentor, Minor Canons, and the lay members of their foundation.

Nothing now remained, save to summon to the top of the steps the supporter Bishops of the King and Queen, together with the noblemen appointed to bear the Regalia in the coronation Procession, ending with the Lord High Steward, whose business it was to carry S. Edward's Crown.

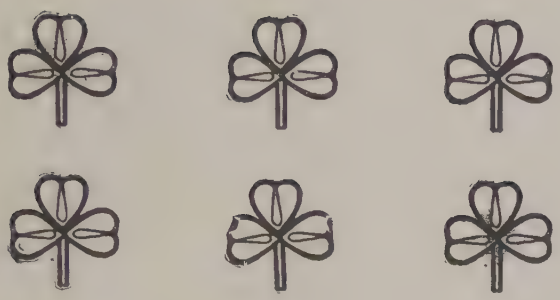
The sight presented by Westminster Hall at this moment must have been magnificent in the extreme, filled as it was, from end to end, with a great assembly of gorgeously apparelled personages, whose every movement seemed to impart a new variety of colour to the scene. Many, of course, would have been in attendance since almost the small hours of the morning, while further, on more than one occasion the departure of the Procession

for the Abbey has been delayed in a most unseemly manner. At the coronation of William and Mary, the news suddenly arrived, and in the most inauspicious manner, that the outraged James had landed in Ireland. Something not unlike a panic seems to have attacked the chief performers in the ceremony, and the Procession did not start upon its way for some two hours and a half. At the coronation of George III., too, a delay ensued at this point of a whole hour, due to the faulty character of the general arrangements—a very different cause to that which prevailed on the first-mentioned occasion.

This long wait which, even under the most favourable circumstances, the majority of those attending the coronation were condemned to endure, would seem to have been no small trial of patience. Still, in one way or another means were found to beguile the general tedium. The Barons of the Cinque Ports imparted an element of comedy to the scene, upon at least one occasion; while now and again a furious skirmish has occurred. At George IV.'s coronation special arrangements were made, with the object of maintaining the public peace, and in a manner which fairly takes our breath away. We are informed that "well-known prize-fighters were placed about Westminster Hall, from an idea of the necessity of keeping peace among the honourable and noble throng. We observed," the writer goes on to say, "Cribb, Randall, Richmond, and we understand many others were present." Doubtless those responsible for the arrangements had carefully borne in mind some of the disquieting incidents which had occasionally marred the good order of certain coro-

nations ; such as the quarrel between the Earls of Northumberland and Ossory over a question of precedency in 1661 ; and, far worse, the stand-up fight which actually occurred, once upon a time, for the possession of the canopy, between the Barons of the Cinque Ports and certain opponents of a much humbler type, who endeavoured to arrogate to themselves a position of equality with these haughty mariners—the royal footmen !

Efforts were also made to relieve any monotony which might conceivably be experienced on the part of the corresponding crowd, which commenced to throng the interior of the Abbey at about four o'clock in the morning. "Agents attended from some of the most considerable confectioners in town," to quote the coronation of George IV. once more, "tables were set out under proper superintendence ; and ices, fruit, wine, sandwiches, and such 'savoury messes' were to be obtained, of good quality, and upon reasonable terms !" The account of the "preparations" that were made in order to supply creature comforts to this distinguished assembly well nigh produces a shudder ; but the general desecration which was thus involved fades away into nothingness when contrasted with the story of the previous coronation. On this last-mentioned occasion, the workmen employed had no hesitation in recording their boast, that "they had broken the noses, and cut off the ears of a whole legion of angels !"



XII

THE CORONATION PROCESSION

THE State Progress of the Sovereign from Westminster Hall to the portals of the Abbey Church must have been one of the most striking and remarkable features of all the grand solemnity of the coronation day.

It was customary to construct a raised pathway from one building to the other, that is to say, from New Palace Yard into King Street (now demolished) and so to Broad Sanctuary—a distance of no less than twelve hundred and twenty yards. From the steps of the throne in Westminster Hall to the foot of the platform beneath the lantern of the Abbey, just beyond the choir stalls, this raised path was covered with the blue cloth, subsequently entrusted to the Grand Almoner for distribution. It was railed in on either side, and on the day itself, the pressure of the vast multitude was checked by

several ranks of Horse Guards. An awning was erected along the whole length as a means of protecting those who took part in the Procession from the damage and discomfort which might conceivably result from inclement weather. No sooner, however, did it appear that the fates were propitious in this respect than the awning was rolled up forthwith.

Naturally enough the Procession, if it was to be witnessed in its full splendour, required the presence of a Queen Consort. The absence of the Queen's Regalia, and the second canopy, borne by her Majesty's own special officers, to say nothing of the ranks of Peeresses arrayed in their gorgeous robes, could hardly fail to detract, and in a very marked degree, from the general effectiveness of this almost unique pageant. Hence, even the coronation of George IV., although it undoubtedly excelled all previous functions of the kind in actual grandeur and magnificence, nevertheless, was lacking in some of the essential elements, which without exception were necessary, in order to convey an adequate impression of the coronation Procession. Thus, his father's coronation which took place in 1761, was the last occasion upon which this time-honoured progress of the English Sovereign and his Consort was carried out in its entirety. At the coronation of William IV. a new spirit was in the air. Economy, not to say parsimony, was allowed to outweigh all considerations of a religious or historical or antiquarian character ; consequently, the usual Procession was abolished. It was revived, although, in a very modified form, at the coronation of Queen Victoria, but most of its old characteristic features

The Coronation Procession of William III. and Mary II.

were swept away, to be replaced by a mere humdrum horse and carriage cavalcade from Buckingham Palace to the Abbey, something after the style of the common-place function familiar to modern eyes at the opening of Parliament.

The order of the procession which took place upon the old time-honoured lines at the coronation of George III., was as follows:—

PROCESSION TO THE CORONATION

The King's Herb-Woman (Honor Battiscombe), followed by Six Maids, strewing the way with Sweet Herbs, a basket being carried by every two Maids.

The Dean's Beadle of Westminster with his staff.

The High Constable of Westminster (Henry Jaffray), with his staff, in a scarlet cloak.

A Fife

in the Royal livery of scarlet laced with gold, having his Majesty's cypher and crown on the back and breast; his fife banner richly fringed and embroidered.

Four Drums,

habited as the Fife with drum-covers of crimson velvet, and the Royal Arms embroidered upon them.

The Drum-Major

in a livery of fine scarlet cloth laced with gold, and a crimson scarf fringed with the same.

Eight Trumpets

in liveries of crimson velvet, ornamented with gold and silver lace, with silver trumpets, and banners of crimson damask, fringed and corded with gold and silver, embroidered with the Royal Arms.

A Kettle-Drum, in the same livery as the Fife with drum-covers of crimson velvet embroidered as before.

Eight Trumpets, habited as before.

The Sergeant Trumpeter (—— Snow),
in a rich habit, with his mace and collar of S.S.

The Six Clerks in Chancery,
in gowns of black-flowered satin, with black silk loops and tufts upon the sleeves; the two Seniors last, in gowns of black velvet.

Samuel Reynardson, Esq.
Isaac Whittington, Esq.
William Mitford, Esq.
Christopher Zincke, Esq.
William Purcas, Esq.
Robert Woodford, Esq.

The Closet Keeper of the Chapel Royal (John Hart, Gent.)

The King's Chaplains, having dignities four and four, in their scarlet habits as doctors, wearing their black silk scarfs, and with square caps in their hands.

Sheriffs of London.

Sir Robert Kite. Sir William Hart, Knts.

Aldermen of London, four and four,
in their furred scarlet gowns, those past the chair wearing their gold chains, the youngest first.

Masters in Chancery, four and four,
in their gowns of black-figured silk, with black silk loops and tufts, the youngest first.

The King's Serjeants-at-Law, the youngest first, wearing their scarlet gowns, and black coifs, with black square caps in their hands.

The King's Solicitor-General (Hon. Charles Yorke) in a gown of black velvet, with black loops and tufts (did not attend).

The King's Attorney-General (Charles Pratt, Esq.) in a gown of black velvet, with black loops and tufts.

The King's Ancient Serjeant
in a scarlet gown, as before.

Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, four and four, the youngest first.

Barons of the Exchequer and Justices of both benches two and two, in their Judges' robes of scarlet, lined with Minever, and edged with Ermine, unpowdered or spotted with black; wearing their Serjeants' coifs, and carrying their caps in their hands; the youngest first, according to the dates of their Judge's Patent.

The Coronation Procession of George II. and Queen Caroline

(From a very old German print)

The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer (Sir Thos. Parker, Knt.), in his Judge's robes and coif, as before, his hood and sleeves lined with white ermine; wearing his collar of S. S.

The Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas (Sir John Willis, Knt.), in his Judge's robes and coif as before, his hood and sleeves lined with white ermine, wearing his gilt collar of S.S. [Went as a Privy Councillor.]

The Master of the Rolls (Sir Thomas Clarke, Knt.) [Went as a Privy Councillor.]

The Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench (Lord Mansfield) [Went as a Peer.]

Children of the Choir of Westminster, in surplices.

Serjeant of the Vestry (William Lovegrove, Esq.), in a scarlet gown.

Serjeant Porter (Walter Harris, Esq.), in a scarlet gown, with his ebony staff.

Children of the Chapel Royal, in surplices, with scarlet mantles over them.

Choir of Westminster, in surplices.

The King's Organ-blower (John Ray), in a scarlet coat, with a silver gilt badge on his left breast.

The King's Groom of the Vestry (William Smith), in a scarlet dress, holding a perfuming-pan, burning perfumes.

A Sacbut. A Double Courtal. A Sacbut.

Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, in scarlet mantles.

The Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal (Dr. Fifield Allen), in a scarlet gown.

Prebendaries of Westminster, in surplices and rich copes.

The Dean of Westminster should have walked next, but as Bishop of Rochester, he carried the paten at another part of the procession.

The Master of the Jewel-house (Sir Richard Lyttleton, K.B.), with two of his officers, both in scarlet.

Carrick { Pursuivants in Scotland in tabards embroidered with the Royal Arms of Scotland. } Dingwall

Bath King of Arms (Samuel Horsey, Esq.),
in the habit of the Order, with his crown in his hand.

Knights of the Bath, not Peers,
(thirteen in number) in their crimson mantles, collars, and full habits of the Order, carrying their hats and feathers in their hands.

Blue Mantle (H. Perjolas Gent.) { Pursuivants of Arms in tabards of damask, lined with crimson taffeta, having His Majesty's Arms embroidered thereon with gold and silver. } Rouge Dragon (Thos. Sheriff, Gent.)

Privy Councillors, not Peers.

His Majesty's Vice-Chamberlain, (the Right Hon. W. Finch, Esq.)

Comptroller of the Household (Earl Powis) [Went as a Peer.]

Treasurer of the Household (Earl of Thomond.)

Rouge-Croix (Henry Hastings, Gent.) { Pursuivants of Arms habited as before. } Portcullis (Peter Toms, Gent.)

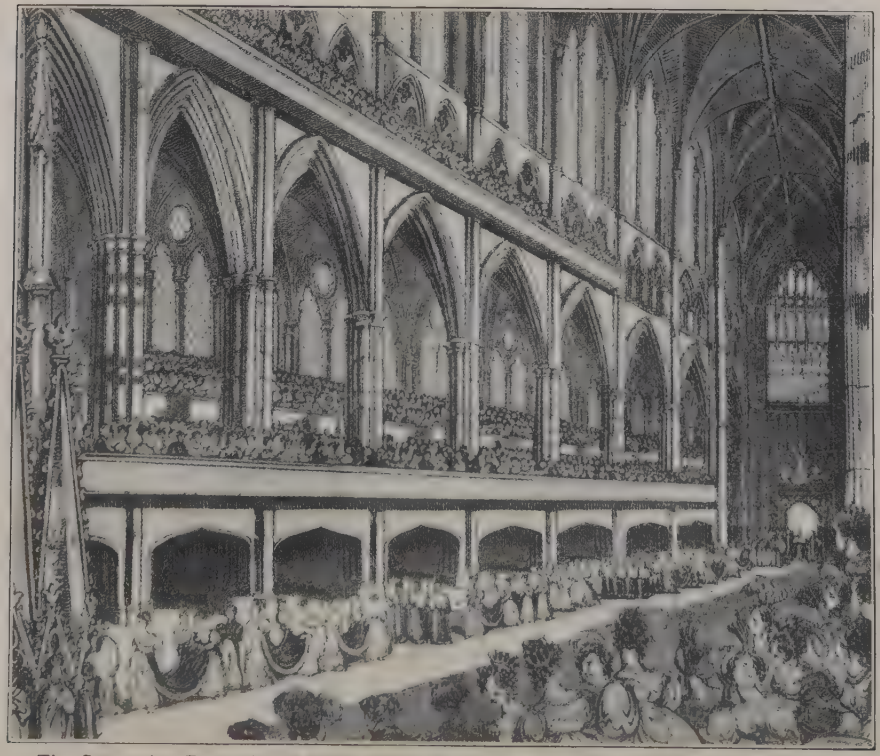
Islay, Ross, Rothesay { The Six Heralds of Scotland, in their tabards as before. } Marchmon, Albany, Snowdon

Baronesses
in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

Barons
in their robes of estate of crimson velvet, their coronets in their hands.

Norfolk Herald Extraordinary (Stephen Martin Leake, Esq., Jun.),
in a tabard of damask, lined and embroidered as before, wearing a silver collar of S.S.

Bishops
in their Rochets with their square caps in their hands, according to the seniority of their consecrations, the juniors first.



The Coronation Procession of William IV advancing up the Nave of Westminster Abbey

Blanche Coursier (John Suffield Brown, Esq.) Heralds Brunswick (Charles Fremen, Esq.)

Viscountesses
in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

Viscounts
in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

Lancaster (Isaac Heard, Esq.) Heralds habited as before. Somerset (Ralph Bigland, Esq.)

Countesses
in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

Earls
in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

Windsor (Henry Hill, Esq.) Heralds habited as before. Richmond (Francis Grose, Esq.)

Marchionesses
in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

Marquises
in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

Heralds

York (George Fletcher, Esq.) habited as before. Chester (John Martin Leeke, Esq.)

Duchesses
in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

Dukes
in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

The Lord Chamberlain of the Household (The Duke of Devonshire.)

Ulster (James Macullogh, Esq.) Clarencieux (Charles Townley, Esq.) Norroy (Thomas Brown, Esq.)

Kings of Arms
in tabards embroidered with the Royal Arms in gold and silver, upon velvet and cloth of gold, lined with crimson satin; with coronets in their hands of

silver-gilt, and caps of crimson satin, lined with white taffeta and turned up with ermine; wearing also their collars of S.S. of silver gilt, and their badges suspended to gold chains about their necks.

Lord Privy Seal (Earl Temple), in his robes of estate, his coronet in his hand.

Lord President of the Council (Earl Granville), in his robes of estate, his coronet in his hand.

Lord Archbishop of York should have walked in this place, but the See was vacant.

Lord Chancellor (Lord Henley), in his robes of estate bearing his coronet and the purse.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Thomas Secker), in his rochet, with his cap in his hand.

Two Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, representing the Dukes of

Acquitaine (Sir William Breton)

Normandy (Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart.)

both in robes of crimson velvet, with deep capes and broad facings of richly powdered ermine, with hats of crimson and gold turned up with ermine.

The Queen's Vice-Chamberlain (Lord Viscount Cantelupe)

Two Gentlemen Ushers.

The Ivory Rod with the Dove, borne by the Earl of Northampton in his robes of estate.

The Queen's Lord Chamberlain (Duke of Manchester), in his robes, with his coronet and staff in his hands.

The Sceptre with the Cross, borne by the Duke of Rutland, in his robes of estate.

Two Serjeants at Arms, with their gilt collars and maces.

The Queen's Crown, borne by the Duke of Bolton, in his robes of estate.

Two Serjeants at Arms, with their gilt collars and maces.

The Queen's Regalia

The King's Regalia

Regalia of the King and Queen being carried in the Procession to Westminster Abbey at the Coronation of James II.

Gentlemen Pensioners carrying their gilt axes

A Baron of the Cinque Ports, supporting the Canopy.	Dr. Thomas Hayter, Lord Bishop of Norwich in Rochet supporter to the Queen.	The QUEEN in her Royal Robes of Crimson Velvet, on her head a circlet of Gold, adorned with jewels; going under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold; her Train borne by Her Royal Highness the Princess Augusta, in her Robes of Estate, assisted by six Earl's daughters.	Dr. John Thomas, Lord Bishop of Lincoln in his Rochet supporter to the Queen.
A Baron do.			
A Baron do.			
A Baron do.			
A Baron do.			
A Baron do.			
A Baron do.			
A Baron of the Cinque Ports, supporting the Canopy.	Lady Jane Stewart Lady Elizabeth Montague Lady Mary Grey	Lady Mary Douglas Lady Heneage Finch Lady Selina Hastings	

Gentlemen Pensioners carrying their gilt axes.

The Princess Augusta,
her coronet borne by the Marquis of Carnarvon.

Duchess of Ancaster, Mistress of the Robes.

Two Women of Her Majesty's Bed-Chamber.

The King's Regalia.

S. Edward's Staff borne by the Duke of Kingston in his robes.	The Golden Spurs borne by the Earl of Sussex in his robes.	The Sceptre with the Cross borne by the Duke of Marlborough in his robes.
The Sword of Temporal Justice borne by the Earl of Sutherland in his robes.	Curtana, or the Sword of Mercy, borne by the Earl of Lincoln in his robes.	The Sword of Spiritual Justice borne by the Earl of Suffolk in his robes.

Two Gentlemen Ushers of the White Rod of Scotland.

Lord Mayor of London in his gown, collar and jewel, bearing the City Mace (Sir Matthew Blakeston, Knt.)	Lyon, King of Arms of Scotland, in his tabard, carrying his crown in his hand (John Campbell Hooke, Esq.)	Garter Principal King of Arms in his tabard as before, his crown in his hand (Stephen Martin Leake, Esq.)	Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod (Sir Septimus Robinson, Knt.)

The Lord Great Chamberlain of England (Peregrine Duke of Ancaster),

in his robes of estate, bearing his coronet and white staff.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland,

in his robes of estate, powdered with six rows of

The Earl of Galloway bearing the Third Sword, the Duke of Newcastle bearing Curtana, and the Duke of Northumberland bearing the Second Sword at the Coronation of George IV.

ermine, the train a yard and a half, his coronet composed of crosses and fleurs de lis, and adorned with jewels, in his hand, his train borne by the Hon. Colonel John Fitzwilliam, Groom of the Bed-Chamber to his Royal Highness.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York,

in his robes of estate, powdered with six rows of ermine, the train a yard and a half, his coronet, composed of crosses and fleurs de lis, and adorned with jewels, in his hand, his train borne by Colonel Brudenell.

The Earl Marshall's Deputy (Earl of Effingham), in his robes, with his Coronet and Earl Marshall's Staff.

The Sword of State, borne by the Earl of Huntingdon in his robes.

The Lord High Constable of England, Duke of Bedford, in his robes with his Coronet and Staff.

The High Constable of Scotland (Earl of Erroll), in his robes, with his Coronet and Staff.

A Gentleman carrying the Staff of the Lord High Steward.

Sergeants-at-Arms.

The Sceptre with the Dove, carried by the Duke of Richmond in his robes.

S. Edward's Crown, borne by the Lord High Steward (Earl Talbot), in his robes.

The Orb, carried by the Duke of Somerset in his robes.

Sergeants-at-Arms.

A Gentleman carrying the Coronet of the Lord High Steward.

The Paten, borne by Dr. Zach. Pearce, Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster.

The Bible, carried by Dr. Richard Osbaldistone, Bishop of Carlisle.

The Chalice, borne by Dr. Edmund Keene, Lord Bishop of Chester.

Gentlemen Pensioners with their gilt axes.

A Baron of the Cinque Ports, supporting the Canopy.				A Baron of the Cinque Ports, supporting the Canopy.
A Baron do.	Dr. Edw. Willes, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, supporter to the King.	The KING in his Royal Robes of Crimson Velvet, furred with ermine, on his head a cap of Estate of Crimson Velvet, adorned with Jewels: going under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold: his Train borne by six Lords, eldest sons of Peers, and the Master of the Robes.	The Hon. Dr. Rich. Trevor, Lord Bishop of Durham, supporter to the King.	A Baron do.
A Baron do.				A Baron do.
A Baron do.				A Baron do.
A Baron do.				A Baron do.
A Baron do.	Viscount Mandeville Lord Howard Lord Beauchamp	Marquis of Hartington Lord Grey Lord Newnham		A Baron do.
A Baron of the Cinque Ports, supporting the Canopy.		Hon. James Brudenell, Master of the Robes, supporting the end.		A Baron of the Cinque Ports, supporting the Canopy.

Gentlemen Pensioners with their gilt axes.

George IV. in his Parliament Robes and wearing a Cap of Estate on his way to Westminster Abbey

Standard Bearer, the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners (John Bridger, Esq.)

Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard in his robes (Hugh Viscount Falmouth).

Captain of the Horse in waiting, in his robes (Lord Cadogan).

Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners in his robes (Lord Berkeley of Stratton).

Lieutenant of the Band of Gentleman Pensioners (Harcourt Powell, Esq.)

A Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber (Lord Robert Bertie).

Two Grooms of the Bed-chamber.

Ensign of the Yeomen of the Guard (Saville Cockayn Cust, Esq.)

Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guard (Edward Le Grand, Esq.)

Officers or Exempts

Yeomen of the Guard in the Royal livery of scarlet and gold with the King's badges on their breasts and backs.

Officers or Exempts

Clerk of the Cheque to the Yeomen of the Guard.

By far the greater portion of the various functionaries, who occupied a place in George III.'s Procession, and the respective duties assigned to each, have been adequately described elsewhere. There still remain a few, however, which demand a brief notice by reason of their comparative lack of familiarity to the ordinary mind of the twentieth century.

First of all there walked the King's Herbwoman and her band of assistants. This office has never failed to arouse considerable attention on the part of the public, although the actual history connected with it lacks any feature of special interest. It, however, may be traced as definitely existing, so far back as the coronation of William and Mary in 1689, seeing that the following entry occurs in a document which dates from the succeeding reign. "Order for a gown of scarlet cloth with a badge

and Her Majesty's cipher on it for the Strewer of Herbs to Her Majesty, as was provided at the last coronation." The honour of carrying out the duties of royal Herbwoman was entrusted at the coronation of George IV. to Miss Fellowes, sister to the secretary of the Lord Great Chamberlain, the King having pledged his word to this lady during the period of the Regency. Accordingly, to quote a contemporary account, Miss Fellowes appeared "in a magnificent dress of white satin with a mantle of the finest scarlet cloth trimmed with gold and lined with white satin; and she bore a splendid gold badge and chain. The head-dress was of gold wheat intermixed with grapes and laurel leaves."

The copes worn by the Dean and Prebendaries of the Abbey Church have for many years been a striking and interesting feature of the coronation ceremony. The majority of the copes which are preserved to-day in the Sacristy of the Abbey, date from the reign of Charles II., and a certain number of them still retain their original lustre. Now and again a cope seems to have been specially designed in view of some particular coronation, being as a matter of fact the private property of its actual wearer. The magnificent purple cope with a deep gold fringe, which was worn by Dean Ireland at the coronation of George IV., was evidently an example. With the exception of one cope of exceedingly curious design and colour, the existing copes are of three distinct hues—purple, crimson, and cloth of gold. Quite recently they have been supplemented by seven additional crimson copes of modern design.

The Master of the Jewel-House was an officer

The King's Herbwoman (Miss Fellowes) and her Train of Assistants at the Coronation of George IV.

whose origin can be traced back a distance of many centuries. A record of the reign of Edward III., for instance, states that John de Flete and John de Mildenhall received their respective appointments to this office at a salary of "twelve pence per diem." Thomas Cromwell was the lucky recipient of the post in the time of Henry VIII., and under him, indeed, it would appear to have attained to its zenith. The Master of the Jewel-house occupied a most important position for he came next in order of precedence to the Privy Councillors. The entire responsibility of acting as the guardian of the royal plate as well as of the National Regalia devolved upon him. Arrayed in his splendid scarlet robe, he was entitled to dine in company with the Barons at the coronation Banquet, while on other grand occasions of state it was his duty to place the crown upon the head of the King and to remove it. Although his official income consisted of but a small pittance, amounting to fifty pounds per annum only ; still, an enormous mass of perquisites fell to his share, with the result that the office after some time became not only honourable but highly lucrative as well.

At the outbreak of the Civil War all the priceless treasures, contained among the National Regalia, happened to be under the charge of Sir Henry and Mr. Carew Mildmay. Upon these two officers, accordingly, there rests the stigma of the scandalous and nefarious transaction by which the Regalia, not excluding King Alfred's crown of gold wire-work and filagree, were handed over to the tender mercies of the Parliamentary fanatics, and sold for mere weight of metal, and for whatever price the individual stones

would fetch. Sir Henry Mildmay remained for ever after under a cloud for his share in this iniquitous deed, and justly. A curious estimate of his character has been bequeathed to posterity in the will of the Earl of Pembroke, who died in the year following this *débâcle*. It runs as follows :—" Because I threatened Sir Harry Mildmay but did not beat him, I give fifty pounds to the footman who cudgelled him. Item, my will is that the said Sir Harry shall not meddle with my jewells. I knew him when he served the Duke of Buckingham, and, since, how he handled the crowne jewells, for both which reasons I now name him the *knave of diamonds*."

With the advent of the Restoration Sir Henry Mildmay was attainted for his misdeeds. The Mastership of the Jewel-house was then bestowed upon Sir Gilbert Talbot, although it was despoiled at this time of not a few of its many lucrative perquisites. From this date onwards the office has undergone a steady process of disendowment. Its duties and privileges have come to be merged in the department of the Lord Chamberlain, until to-day one solitary feature alone is left intact—the custody of the Regalia now kept in the Tower.

A leading feature of the state Progress from the Tower to Westminster on the day preceding the actual coronation consisted in the presence of a numerous body of knights. The first instance which history actually records of the creation of such a body upon the occasion of a coronation, was in the year 1377, when the youthful Richard II. rode through the City, clad in white garments and escorted by these newly dubbed knights.

We learn from Froissart that his successor created

Cope made for the use of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, at the Coronation of Charles II.

no less than forty-six knights, three of the number being his own sons. The costume they wore is described by the Chronicler as consisting of "long green coats, the sleeves whereof were cut straight, and furred with minever, and with great hoods or chaperons furred in the same manner, and after the fashion used by prelates; and every one of these knights, on his left shoulder, had a double cordon, or string of white silk, to which white tassels were pendant."

In the first instance, these knights were not definitely associated with any specific order. From the quaint and curious ceremonial, however, which accompanied their creation they came to be known, so early as the reign of Henry V., by the title "Knights of the Bath"—as being emblematic of the purity of their future profession. The novice was first of all conducted to a chamber where he bathed. Having resumed his garments together with "a hermit's weed of russet cloth," he next proceeded to keep his vigil, generally in the Chapel of S. John in the Tower, until nearly break of day. Finally, he was arrayed in costly robes, and having mounted his steed in the courtyard he was "duly dubbed knight by the hand of his Sovereign" in the adjoining hall.

These Knights of the Bath formed a regular accompaniment of every coronation, until the reign of James II. when the grand cavalcade through the City was dropped, for reasons inspired mainly by parsimony. Not many years later, however, the Order was revived, or, it would be more correct to say, placed upon a permanent and durable foundation by Sir Robert Walpole. Statutes were drawn

up for its regulation. The Order was limited to the persons of the Sovereign and thirty-seven Knights Companions. Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey was selected to be the home of the Order; the Dean of Westminster being the chief ecclesiastical officer. At the same time the number of knights was fixed so as to correspond with the carved stalls handed down from monastic times, and still existing in the Chapel.

Throughout the eighteenth century the installation of new Knights of the Bath continued to take place from time to time. It ceased, however, in the year 1812. Shortly after this date the whole Order underwent a considerable enlargement. The Chapel of Henry VII. could no longer contain the members, and the old connection with Westminster has gradually become weaker and weaker. The banners remain, it is true, but only as interesting relics of a once splendid past, while they continue day by day to moulder away beneath the hand of time.

The robes worn by the general body of Peers and Peeresses at a coronation are of the most magnificent character. They have received only trifling modifications from century to century, so that the following orders, announced by the Earl Marshal for the regulation of the Peeresses' robes at the coronation of James II., will serve as an excellent specimen :—

"1. The Robe of Mantle of a Baroness to be of Crimson Velvet, the Cape to be Furred with Meniver pure, and Powdered with Two Bars or Rows of Ermine, the said Mantle to be Edged round with Meniver pure (*i.e.*, Ermine Unpowdered), Two

New Cope made for the use of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey at the Coronation of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra

Inches in bredth, and the Train to be Three Foot on the Ground.

The Coronet to be according to their Degree, viz., with Six Pearls upon the Rim not raised upon points, nor is the Rim to be Imbellished with Pretious Stones.

2. The Robe or Mantle of a Viscountess like that of a Baroness, only the Cape Powdered with Two Rows and a Half of Ermine, the Edging of the Mantle Two Inches as before, the Train a Yard and a Quarter.

The Coronet according to their Degree, viz., a Rim or Circle with Pearls thereon, sans number, but generally Sixteen and not raised upon points.

3. The Mantle of a Countess, as before, only the Cape Powdered with Three Rows of Ermine, the Edging Three Inches in bredth, and the Train a Yard and a Half.

The Coronet composed of Eight Pearls raised upon Points or Rays with small Leaves between, above the Rim.

4. The Mantle of a Marchioness as before, only the Cape Powdered with Three Rows and a Half of Ermine, the Edging Four Inches in bredth, the Train a Yard and Three Quarters.

The Coronet to be composed of Four Leaves and Four Pearls raised upon Points of the same height as the Leaves, alternately, above the Rim.

5. The Mantle of a Duchess as before, only the Cape Powdered with Four Rows of Ermine, the Edging Five Inches broad the train Two Yards.

The Coronet to be composed of Eight Leaves, all of equal height above the Rim.

The Surcoats or Kirtles to be all of Crimson

Velvet, close bodied and clasped before, edged or bordered with Meniver pure Two Inches broad, and scalloped down the Sides from below the Girdle, and sloped away into a Train proportionable to the length of the Robe or Mantle for each Degree, viz., about a third part thereof.

The Sleeves of the Surcoats to be also of Crimson Velvet about Five Inches deep, scalloped at the bottom, edged with Meniver pure, and fringed with Gold or Silver.

The Caps of the Coronets to be all of Crimson Velvet turned up with Ermine, with a Button and Tassel of Gold or Silver on the Top suitable to the Fringe of their Sleeves.

Lastly, the Peticoats to be of Cloth of Silver, or any other White Stuff, either Laced or Embroidered according to every one's fancy.

The Mantles to hang back, being fastened to each Shoulder with Cordons of Silver or Gold suitable to their Fringe, with Tassels of the same, hanging one on each Side down to the Waste.

The Surcoats or Kirtles to open before, that the Peticoats may appear."

The Coronets of the Royal Family, with the exception of the Prince of Wales, consist of a circle of gold bordered with ermine, and surmounted by four fleurs-de-lys and cross-patées alternately. The coronets of the Princesses possess the additional ornamentation of strawberry leaves. That of the Prince of Wales possesses as well as the fleurs-de-lys and cross-patées, one single arch, in the midst of which there is placed a ball and cross, not unlike that contained in the royal diadem. The cap attached to this coronet is composed of crimson velvet

An Officer of the Jewel House at the Coronation of George IV.

turned up with ermine. The Coronets of the Royal Family and those of the Peers and Peeresses are only worn for a very short space of time ; but this is the most thrilling and exciting moment of the entire ceremony of the coronation. No sooner has the Archbishop received the crown of S. Edward from the hands of the Dean of Westminster than he places it upon the head of the Sovereign with words of holy benediction. The whole assembly at once bursts forth into loud and repeated acclamations. The walls of the venerable Abbey echo and re-echo from end to end with the old loyal and patriotic shouts of " God save the King. Long live the King." In the distance the booming of the great guns at the Tower and in S. James' Park may be distinguished ; while, still nearer at hand, there may be heard the ringing notes of the State trumpets combined with the sonorous roll of the drums.

The splendour, however, of this unique moment, is altogether marred by one absurdly incongruous element. On the north side of the sacrarium are seated the members of the bench of Bishops. It would not unnaturally be supposed, that while their brethren of the lay peerage proceed to array themselves in the glittering coronets of their respective degree, these spiritual Peers would have lent additional brilliancy to the gorgeous scene by assuming their own corresponding headgear. Such however, is very far indeed from being the case. Although the episcopal mitre is frequently to be perceived stamped upon the note paper or emblazoned upon the carriage door of more than one Right Reverend Prelate, yet, to quote a writer of nearly a century back, while the Peers assume their

coronets, the Kings-at-Arms their crowns, and the Knights of the Bath their caps with the nodding plumes, "the Bishops deprived of their baronial mitres though worn by the Evangelist S. John array their diminished heads with their daily head dress, the square cap!"

A curious, not to say absurd, anachronism survived right down to the comparatively modern coronation of George III., although, long before that date, it had degenerated into a piece of grotesque folly. This was the ridiculous and even vulgar custom, handed down from coronation to coronation, by which two gentlemen of the Privy Chamber were arrayed as lay figures to represent the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine respectively. Such indeed was the strength of the popular feeling in England against our ancient foes upon the other side of the Channel, coupled with the recollection of humiliation, experienced centuries previously, in the loss of these provinces, that the Sovereigns of this land continued in their official capacity to style themselves Kings of France, until a time almost within the memory of living men!

At the coronation of George III. these two functionaries wore crimson velvet mantles with white sarcenet furred with minever and powdered with ermine. They did homage to the King in precisely the same manner as that performed by the English peerage; and when the latter, in accordance with their ancient and prescriptive right, proceeded to array their heads with their coronets, in the presence of his Majesty, these make-believe Dukes simultaneously placed their caps in a jaunty manner upon their own heads!

A Knight Grand Cross of the Bath at the Coronation of George IV.

The office denoted by the somewhat high sounding title of Mistress of the Robes has possessed more than one distinguished occupant—one of whom, and not the least famous, as we might naturally guess, being the great Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. During the reign of George II. this post was assigned to Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk. She bequeathed to her successors in the office an interesting and valuable memorandum, which contains a careful summary of the duties actually entrusted to the Mistress of the Robes at the coronation of George II. and his Consort, Queen Caroline of Anspach. This memorandum fulfilled a most useful purpose at the ensuing coronation, and in spite of the lapse of well-nigh a century and a half, it is so full of interest that it deserves to be quoted *in extenso* :—

"At the late Queen's Coronation the Duchess of Dorset was Mistress of the Robes; but Mrs. Howard, Bed-Chamber Woman, having had all things belonging to that office for many years under her care, received her Majesty's commands to provide everything proper for her Majesty's dress for the coronation, and to inquire into all particulars necessary for the Queen to know.

"Upon inquiry into the different offices, she received information that the Mistress of the Robes was the only person in whose name demands were to be made, and all answers were to be directed to her; upon which Mrs. Howard told this to the Duchess of Dorset who desired her to write in her (the Duchess's) name, and to receive all answers. All that follows may be taken as done by the Mistress of the Robes. Upon inquiry where her Majesty should be dressed, it was answered at West-

minster. Immediately the Earl Marshal delivered up a room of his, very convenient for the purpose, and on the morning before the coronation, all her Majesty's robes and jewels were carried to that room under a guard. The Page of the Robes stayed there all night with a proper guard, which was asked of the officer on duty there.

"By particular orders there was a small handkerchief provided. The night before the coronation, the Queen's order to all her servants, except the Bed-chamber Woman, was to be at Westminster in the places assigned them, at the hour appointed for their summons; and at a little after seven o'clock the next morning, her Majesty, being in an undress but everything new, went into her chair (not a state one), with the curtains drawn; her Lord Chamberlain in a hackney chair before her Majesty, and Mrs. Howard in hers behind, and particular care was taken that it should not be suspected when her Majesty passed the park. As soon as her Majesty got to Westminster, Mrs. Howard dressed her, assisted only by those who belonged to the office. Mrs. Herbert, the other Bed-chamber Woman, came in, but being in her full dress could not assist. As soon as the Queen came into the room where the Peeresses were assembled, from that time the Duchess of Dorset assisted as Mistress of the Robes. She walked alone immediately after the Queen; and when the service of the church was over, and the Queen was to be crowned and anointed, the four ladies were called to the pall, and the Mistress of the Robes then advanced on the right side of the pall, the Bed-chamber Woman on the left, to be ready to take off the circle and open the Queen's tucker,

(*Wright, photographer, London*)

Frances, Duchess of Richmond (La Belle Stuart), in the Robes she wore at Queen Anne's Coronation

(*From the Wax Effigies in Westminster Abbey*)

that the Bishop might crown and anoint her Majesty, and to be ready to close the tucker, and pin on the crown.

"There is a little handkerchief, which the Bedchamber Woman in waiting gives to the Mistress of the Robes, to wipe off any oil that might fall upon the face. The Queen retires into S. Edward's Chapel to offer her crown, and then the Mistress of the Robes, assisted by the Chamber Woman, pin on the fine crown appointed for her Majesty.

"After dinner the Queen retired into the room in which she had been dressed, and there was undressed, and everything was left there for that night, guarded as they had been the night before. Her Majesty went back to St. James's in private."

The ancient body of Sergeants-at-Arms bear the magnificent silver-gilt maces, which may be viewed in the Jewel-house at the Tower. At one period the Sergeants-at-Arms were ceremonially invested with their silver collars of S.S. and maces, on which occasion the Sovereign declared the recipient of this honour to be "Sergeant-at-Arms and Esquire for ever." Instituted originally by Richard I. as a body-guard, whose duty it was to keep watch near the royal tent, arrayed in complete armour, these officers have dwindled in latter years alike in number and in importance. Their main duties at the present time consist in walking before the Sovereign, and in attending the various bearers of the Regalia during the coronation Procession. Nothing, however, of any really practical importance is attached to the office to-day.

The band of Gentlemen-at-Arms or Gentlemen Pensioners, to quote their original title, were a

creation of King Henry VIII., immediately before his own coronation, and on the suggestion of Sir William Compton. A long and intensely interesting history is attached to this body, although few events of a distinctively military character have been recorded in their annals. The successful defence of the royal Palace at Whitehall during Wyatt's rebellion in the reign of Mary, and nearly two centuries later, a summons to attend His Majesty George II. at Finchley Common, during the period of terror which was produced by Charles Edward's dash for London in the '45 rebellion, comprise the sum total of the warlike deeds performed by the Gentlemen Pensioners.

This body has at no period contained a larger number than fifty, and for the past two centuries its main duties have been limited to the guarding of the royal person within the verge of the Court, and during state functions generally. At the coronation Banquet the Gentlemen Pensioners possess the prescriptive right of carrying up the dishes, without being under the necessity of exhibiting any evidence in support of their claim.

They are commanded by a Captain, Lieutenant and Standard-bearer, together with the Clerk of the Checque. Their usual weapons were pole-axes, and at the coronation of George IV., their dress consisted of a costly and magnificent scarlet suit, slashed with blue and adorned with countless gold buttons, red silk stockings, white shoes and gloves, together with a black hat with red and white feathers.

The Yeomen of the Guard who numbered at one period of their history no less than two hundred persons, possess for their officers a Captain,

The Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guard at the Coronation of George IV.

Lieutenant, Ensign, Clerk of the Checque, with four Exempts or Exons. The Corps was raised by Henry VII. in 1485 with the nominal object of conferring greater splendour upon his own coronation ; but in reality, according to Hall the Chronicler, "for the safe-guard and preservation of his own body he constituted and ordained a certain number as well of good archers as of divers other persons, being hardy, strong and of agility to give daily attendance of his person, whom he named Yeomen of his Garde, which precedent men thought that he learned of the French king when he was in France, for men remember not any King of England before that time which used such a furniture of daily soldiers."

The duties assigned to the Yeomen of the Guard at the coronation are mainly of an ornamental character. They consist for the most part in marching in the rear of the Procession and in assisting the Great Officers in carrying up the dishes to the Sovereign's table at the Banquet.

The curious title "Exempt" or "Exon," was originally derived from the analogy of certain officers in the French Garde du Corps. As the name implies the Exempts possess a delegated authority, in that they assume command in the absence of the Lieutenant or the Ensign.

More than one fanciful derivation has been ascribed to the popular term, "Beef-eaters." There is one, however, ascribed to Fuller, which is so fully in accordance with the character which has descended to posterity of "bluff King Hal," in his early and happier days, that it is here quoted in full, from the Book of the Court :—

"The King being hunting in the neighbourhood of Reading, disguised himself as one of his Yeomen, and in a frolic, paid a visit to the Abbot about dinner time. The personal bulk of the King could well enable him to support the character. The Abbot finding it necessary (perhaps through fear) to be civil to such a guest, invited the supposed Yeoman to dine at his own table, where was a large piece of beef, of which the King, hungry from the chase, ate rather voraciously. Upon observing this the Abbot cried out, 'Well fare thy heart! and here, in a cup of sack, I remember the health of his Grace. I would give an hundred pounds on the condition I could feed so heartily on beef as you do. Alas! my weak squeamish stomach will hardly digest the wing of a small rabbit, or chicken.' The King (or rather the Beef-eater) took his leave, and in a few weeks after, the Abbot was committed close prisoner to the Tower, and fed for a short time on bread and water; at length a piece of beef was set before him, for which the Abbot did not then want a competent inclination, and while he was thus regaling himself, the King came intentionally into the apartment, *in propriâ personâ*, and demanded the £100 for having restored to the Abbot his lost appetite for roast beef. The Abbot might, perhaps, think the remedy severe, and the physician's fee rather large; but Dr. Fuller vouches the truth of the story, and says the money was paid before he had his release, after which it is natural enough to conceive that the Abbot henceforth would never see any of the Yeomen of the Guard without annexing to him the idea of a Beef-eater; and the story, when circulated, might very fairly entail that nick-name upon them."

XIII

THE RECOGNITION

By no means the least impressive and significant feature of the coronation service is the ceremony which is performed so soon as the Sovereign has reached the "theatre." The ceremony in question is usually termed the "Recognition." The various officers who compose the Procession having reached the positions assigned to them, the Archbishop of Canterbury takes his stand near the King, facing eastward. The latter rises and stands in front of his chair, while the Primate proceeds to address the assembled congregation in the following words :—

"Sirs,—I here present unto you King —— the rightful inheritor of the crown of this realm, wherefore all ye that are come this day to do your homage, service and bounden duty are ye willing to do the same ?"

Next, the Archbishop, preceded by Garter King at Arms and attended by a brilliant group of high state officials—the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable and the Earl Marshal—moves to the south side of the great platform, and from hence, to its western and northern sides in their appointed turn. The same proclamation is uttered as the Archbishop faces each one of the four quarters of the compass, the King all the while standing in front of his chair, and turning himself in accordance with the positions successively assumed by the Archbishop and his train of followers. At each repetition of the formula the assembled people shout aloud their acclamations, and the ceremony concludes with the beating of drums, the fanfare of the state trumpets, and sometimes with the singing of the National Anthem.

What is the precise meaning and importance of this most striking and interesting ceremony? The act of Recognition has been defined as "the acknowledgment of the heir to a feudal seigniory, and of the legality of his claims to the inheritance." Thus, at a coronation, according to principles such as these, the Recognition would appear to be a ceremony primarily concerned with the chief tenants of the crown, and affecting the commonalty of England only in a very secondary and subsidiary manner. For obvious reasons, the general consent and approbation of the whole nation which is summed up in the one word "election," cannot be dispensed with, and indeed it has been conjectured, not unreasonably, that the cheers and acclamations of the King's Scholars of Westminster School, were actually intended to represent this particular aspect of the

Sovereign's relations with his subjects. It must however be accorded, that the ceremony of the Recognition has been brought into far greater prominence than that of Election; owing, no doubt, to the greater weight and general influence possessed by the persons more immediately engaged therein—the great nobles of the land.

Such then is the ceremony of Recognition, when it is regarded from its original feudal standpoint. On the other hand there exists an entirely different aspect of the subject. It is, to say the least, an open question, as to whether this introductory ceremony in our English Coronation Service, does in reality involve an act of recognition in the feudal and technical sense of the word, at all. Curiously enough, the expression "Recognition," is never used upon one single occasion in this connection, prior to the coronation of James II. Again, it must not be forgotten that the question is addressed not merely to the assembled peerage, but to the entire body of the people, who would ordinarily have been cut off from taking any part in such ceremony, if the first view be accurate. Once more, the different formulæ which were laid down by the mediæval service books for the Archbishop to pronounce, tell one and all, a similar tale, *e.g.*, that the first act of the Coronation Service is neither more nor less than a solemn and deliberate acceptance on the part of the entire body of the people of this realm of their new Sovereign Lord and King. Witness, for instance, the curious wording of the account which has been preserved to us of the coronation of King Henry VIII. That monarch is described, it is true, as being "rightful and undoubted inheritour by the

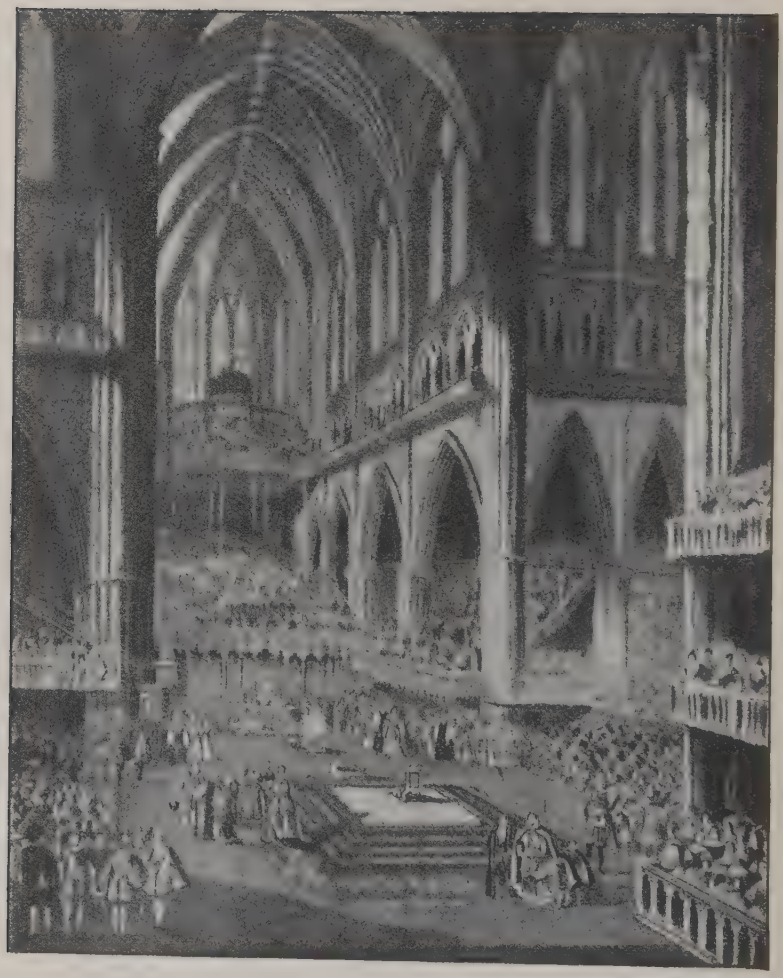
lawes of God and man" ; but he is none the less, "elected, chosen, and required by all the three estates of this lande to take uppon hym the said coronne and royal dignitie." The assent of the people is asked in this form :—" Woll ye serve at this tyme, and geve your wills and assents to the same consecration, enunction, and coronacion ? Whereunto the people shall say with a grete voyce, Ye, ye, ye ; So be it ; King Henry, King Henry !"

The account which still exists in manuscript of the Recognition as performed at the coronation of Mary I. is no less interesting :—

"And thus the Queen's Majesty, between x and xi of the clock, was conducted by two noblemen to her throne to King Edward's chair, as is aforesaid ; wherein, after her Grace had reposed a little time, she was removed by the said lords into the four parts of the mount into the sight of the people, beside whom the Bishop of Winchester standing, declared to the people in the aforesaid parts the Queen's Majesty's free election."

More than once, this ceremony has been attended with a strange and even mournful interest. The Recognition at the coronation of King Charles I., for instance, was of a strangely weird character. Indeed, when viewed in the light of subsequent events, it appears to be a remarkable omen of the strife and discord with which that youthful Sovereign's reign was subsequently convulsed. Let Sir Symonds D'Ewes—an eye-witness—relate the story for us :—

"I was thinking to see his passage and soe to go home, having in the morning, without couler of successe, endeavoured to gett into the church. In



The Coronation of Queen Victoria: The Ceremony of the Recognition

my passage, spying a doore guarded by one and thronged at by few, I went, and with little trouble found an easie entrance, the good genius of that guardman guiding his gentler thoughts. Being in, I instantlie setled myselfe at the stage on which stoode the roiall seate. My expectation was soon answered with his majestie's approach: whoe presenting himselfe bare-headed to the people (all the doores being then opened for ther entrance) the archbishop on his right hand and earle marshall on his left, the byshopp saied in my articulate hearing to this purpose: 'My Masters and friends, I am heere come to present unto you your king, King Charles, to whome the Crowne of his ancestors and predecessors is now devolved by lineall right, and hee himselfe come hither to bee settled in that throne which God and his birth have appointed for him: and therefore I desire you by your generall acclamation to testifie your consent and willingness thereunto.' Upon which, whether some expected hee should have spoken more, others, hearing not well what hee saied, hindred those by questioning which might have heard, or that the newnes, and greatnes of the action busied men's thoughts, or the presence of soe deare a king drew admiring silence, or that those which were nearest doubted what to doe; but *not one word followed* till my lorde of Arundel tolde them they should crie out, God save King Charles. Upon which, as ashamed of their first oversight, a little shouting followed. At the other sides wheere hee presented himselfe ther was not the like failing."

This somewhat uncanny incident which characterised the Recognition at the coronation of Charles I. was, however, left far behind, by the general horror

and gruesomeness which attended that of the Conqueror on the memorable Christmas Day of 1066. The rival nations were gathered together within the walls of the Abbey, rich and poor, gentle and simple, Saxon and Norman, worshipping side by side. Two prelates had been commissioned to address this strangely mixed multitude—Ealdred, Archbishop of York and Geoffrey, Bishop of Countances—each in his own respective tongue. At the moment of the Recognition, or what corresponded to it; a "confused acclamation" arose from the discordant elements which composed the assembly. The Norman cavalry without the building, puzzled by the strange and altogether unexpected sound, mistook its meaning, and forthwith proceeded to fall upon the Saxons hard by, and to fire a portion of the surrounding Abbey buildings. The whole of the congregation rushed forth in abject terror, to be trampled, not a few of them, beneath the horses' hoofs of their conquerors. The Duke was left almost entirely alone, save for the ecclesiastics actually taking part in the ceremony, and there, in the dim winter light, amid that awful silence, which was broken only by the distant cries and groans of his new Saxon subjects, as one after another was felled to the ground, the Conqueror, trembling himself like an aspen leaf, was solemnly "hallowed to King."

XIV

THE CORONATION OATH AND THE ANCIENT BOOK OF THE GOSPELS

Not the least among the many treasures of the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, is a quarto volume containing some 217 leaves, all of which bear the mark of an hoar antiquity. The book consists of the Four Gospels, together with the usual Prologues, preceded by the Canons of Eusebius. In addition to this, each Gospel also possesses a figure of its author, while the genealogy of our Lord, written in small gold uncial characters, is appended to that of S. Matthew.

There are exceedingly weighty reasons for believing that this book was actually employed at the coronation of Charles I., and, in all probability, at

those of the majority of his predecessors also. Further, it is practically certain that it belonged at one time to Margaret the Dowager Duchess of Burgundy, and widow of Charles l'Audace; while, to make a still greater leap into the distant recesses of the past, it is at least possible that the book was actually presented to the church of Dover, and by no less a personage than King Athelstan himself.

So far as venerable age is concerned this volume tells its own tale, and requires no further evidence to be adduced in support of the fact. At the commencement there has been inserted a "handsome illumination," which is itself divided into four compartments. One of these contains the arms of Burgundy in a lozenge, impaling quarterly those of France and England: above the shield are the letters C and M—representing Charles and Margaret, together with the motto of the former inscribed on a scroll, *Bien en advienne*, the whole being surrounded with "marguerites." There can be no reasonable doubt but that this page was actually inserted by the Duchess of Burgundy, the patroness of Caxton and Aubert, and possessed of keen literary instincts herself. Moreover, other manuscripts are still extant from her collection, all of which contain identically the same Burgundian coat of arms as this Book of the Gospels.

Another of the four compartments depicts a kneeling figure, clothed in a surcoat quarterly of ancient France and England. It is wholly impossible to establish the actual identity of the figure itself, but on either side there stand two golden columns covered with armorial bearings possessed of the very highest significance, *e.g.*, those of Edward the Confessor as representing the Saxon kings,

Denmark standing for Canute, Normandy for our first three Sovereigns subsequently to the Conquest, England for Henry II. and his successors, ancient France which were first assumed by Edward III., and England quarterly for that sovereign and his grandson Richard II.

Does not all this go far to establish the fact that the Duchess, herself of royal birth, the sister in fact of Edward IV., actually believed this aged and time-worn volume, to be nothing less than the Coronation Book of the English Sovereigns of the Middle Ages? It would indeed appear an exceedingly difficult process, to place any other interpretation upon this remarkable illumination than the above—an assertion first made by Smith in his "History and Catalogue of the Cottonian Library," and maintained ever since that date.

The three remaining compartments contain in the first place, a pictorial representation of the Temptation; and secondly, the arms of King Athelstan surmounted by a crown, while on the third the following lines are inscribed—

Saxonidum dux atque decus primumque Monarcham
Inclitus Aelfridum qui numeravit aerum,
Imperii primas quoties meditantur habenas
Me voluit sacrum Regibus esse librum.

Once more, at the commencement of S. Matthew's gospel there appear written in a contemporary hand the words :—

✠ Odda Rex
✠ Mihthild Mater Regis.

The word "Odda" is a Saxon form of Otho, and it has been conjectured, not unreasonably, that this

Queen Victoria on her way to take the Oath in the presence of her First Parliament. The picture shows the interior of the temporary Houses of Parliament after the fire of 1834

Book may have been a present from the Emperor Otho I. of Germany, who, in the year 936, married King Athelstan's sister, Edith. The connection of the last-named monarch with the manuscript would seem, moreover, to be abundantly proved by certain verses written in his honour which appear in the course of the volume, together with a positive declaration, also written in a contemporary Saxon hand, to the effect that he actually presented it himself to the Church of Dover.

Some time in the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries this wonderful book must have passed into the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, by whom, according to Sir Symonds D'Ewes, it was produced prior to the coronation of Charles I. In an interesting letter written by Sir Symonds to his friend Sir Martin Stuteville, the following statement is made :—

"About eight of the clocke His Majestie was expected to have landed at Sir Robert Cotton's staires, My Lord Marshall having himselfe given order for carpets to bee laied. Sir Robert stood readie ther to recave him with a booke of Athelstan's being the fower evangelists in Latin ; that King's Saxon epistle, affixed upon which for divers hundred years together the Kings of England have solemnly taken there coronation oath."

In more recent days the Book of the Gospels has experienced its own somewhat exciting adventures. It was within an ace of total destruction in the year 1731, at the time of the fire which almost demolished Ashburnam house in Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, at that time the depository of the Cottonian Library. Even at the present day it bears not a few evident traces of the terrible danger it ran at that

time, for it is now wholly impossible to reproduce one single page. Surely a volume teeming thus with English memories, and one which must itself have undergone so many strange vicissitudes, ought for all future time, to be permanently "retained and had in use" with the advent of every successive coronation day. It seems well nigh incredible that any persons should exist who would prefer the use of a Bible on this solemn occasion, which has been furnished by some private Society, or, to quote a writer at the time of Queen Victoria's coronation, "who would regard a modern hot-pressed copy of the English Gospels from the Oxford Press or the Queen's Printer, of equal value for this purpose with the Evangeliary of Athelstan, the Bible of Charlemagne, or the Alexandrian Codex."

The coronation Oath with which this volume has been more especially connected, takes place at a comparatively early stage of the service, previous, in fact, to any of the ceremonies which are associated with the "hallowing" of the Sovereign. Having replied to the questions successively ministered by the Primate, the King forthwith proceeds to the High Altar and laying his hand upon the Book of the Gospels, he then and there takes the Oath. This accomplished, he kisses the Book, at the same time appending his signature. The actual form of the Oath is duly inscribed upon a piece of vellum which is itself attached to the coronation Roll. This latter is a most interesting document, being, in fact, a complete record of all the proceedings in the Court of Claims, together with an exact official account of the ceremonial performed at the coronation service itself. It is prepared by the Clerk of the Crown, and

Coronation of a King and Queen Consort

(*From the Liber Regalis*)

subsequently deposited with not a little formality amongst the records of the Court of Chancery.

An exceedingly untoward incident occurred in this connection at the coronation of George IV. At the very moment when his Majesty was preparing to sign the formula of the Oath, it turned out that the vellum original was not forthcoming. For the time being, this awkward emergency appeared to present an almost insuperable difficulty. The King's readiness of mind, however, succeeded in grappling with the situation. He suggested that his signature should be subscribed to the copy of the oath, which had been printed in one of the books containing the order of the service. This was accordingly performed, and duly attested by the Archbishop of Canterbury in a certificate attached to the coronation Roll for that reign, together with the following memorandum :—

"The above mentioned oaths not being in this instance prepared upon Vellum, His Majesty placed his signature to the said Oaths in a book containing the form and order of the Service to be performed, and of the Ceremonies to be observed in the Coronation of his said Majesty, which book having the signature of His Majesty to the said Oaths therein, remains deposited in the manuscript library of the Archiepiscopal Palace at Lambeth.

"C. CANTUAR."

The formal Presentation of the new Sovereign with the Holy Bible does not take place until all the various articles of the Regalia have in turn been delivered to him. It is followed by the pronouncing of the solemn words of the Benediction

by the Archbishop. This ceremony of delivering the Bible was not introduced until comparatively modern times. None, however, will regret the innovation. The Holy Bible stands for so much that has helped to make England what she is, that to us of to-day it seems as a natural accompaniment of the stately ceremonial of the sacring of our English sovereigns. It became a permanent element in the service with the coronation of William and Mary in 1689. From that date onwards no coronation has been held to be complete without this solemn Presentation to the Sovereign of the Book of books—"the most valuable thing that this world affords"—at what is probably the most solemn and awful moment in his whole earthly life.

XV

THE SOLEMN ANOINTING OF THE SOVEREIGN

From the middle of the eighteenth century, it has been customary to interpose an interval of some very considerable length between the accession of a new Sovereign and his actual coronation. This practice can lay claim to little or no justification. Ancient precedent furnishes no evidence whatsoever in favour of such an innovation. The comparatively modern coronation of Queen Anne, for instance, was separated by a bare interval of ten days only from the funeral of her predecessor, while even at the still more recent coronations of the early Georges, but a few months intervened. From the accession of George III., however, the period of court mourning for a deceased Sovereign has been prolonged to a most unusual length. With

the advent of each coronation in its turn, a steadily increasing demand appears to have been made upon those responsible for the carrying out of the vast preparations. The general result consequently has been to place the coronation at so distant a date that a large portion of its own peculiar significance has wholly disappeared from the popular mind. The unfortunate character of this innovation is more specially to be found in the general influence which it has exercised upon the religious aspect of the ceremony. Obviously, it is by no means an easy matter to realise that a monarch, who has already been performing the main functions of kingship for well nigh a twelvemonth, derives his distinctively regal character, simply and solely from the solemn rite of "sacring," which he undergoes at the consecrated hands of the episcopate of the English Church.

This religious significance of the great ceremony of the coronation it is altogether impossible to exaggerate. The central point from which radiate the bulk of the remaining ceremonies, is of course the solemn Unction. With this important act of anointing, the Sovereign is deliberately and for ever set apart and sanctified, while at the same moment he becomes the privileged recipient of the special gift of the Holy Spirit. If once the full bearing of this ceremony of sacred Unction be fairly grasped, then the deep sacramental character of the entire service forthwith becomes apparent.

The privilege of being "hallowed," or "inoiled" with holy anointing, was, at the outset, restricted to an inner circle of five monarchs only. France and England, Jerusalem and Sicily, and last but greatest

of all the Holy Roman Empire, were alone entitled to bestow upon their Sovereigns a "sacring" in the full sacramental sense of the word. Scotland, it is true, secured an identical privilege, by special Papal permission, though at a very much later date; but the remaining potentates who, at their respective inaugurations, were debarred from the right of receiving the holy oil amounted to no less than twenty-two in number.

This fact of sacred Unction was considered to influence the whole nature of kingship in the profoundest possible manner. In virtue of this solemn "hallowing," the Sovereign forthwith came to be invested with a dual character. Henceforth, he was regarded, to quote the old phrase, as being a "*mixta persona*"—half cleric, half laic. The aid of the Holy Spirit is invoked upon the Royal person in precisely the same manner as over our spiritual fathers in God. Even the vestments worn by the King, as has been already noted, maintained this episcopal aspect of sovereignty with no less emphasis. The boy king, Henry VI., was arrayed, so it is stated :—"Lyke as a Bysshop shuld say masse, with a dalmatyk and a stole about his necke. And also as hosyn and shone and copys and gloves lyke a bysshop." In short, the solemnity of the coronation and the act of sacred Unction in particular, convey to the Sovereign a definite spiritual jurisdiction, as well as an inalienable sanctity, which can by no possibility be effaced, and which confers upon him the right of holding his responsible and dignified office "by the Grace of God."

The practice of anointing seems to have attained a permanent position in our English coronation

orders, even in the early and remote infancy of our country. It is distinctly implied in the Pontificale of Archbishop Egbert (732-767), while the first actually recorded instance of its employment

The Coronation of Edward the Confessor
The Ceremony of the Unction

dates but a few years later, from the coronation of Egferth, King of Mercia. Moreover, there is a most remarkable description still extant of the coronation of the great King Alfred, in which it is stated that Pope Leo IV. "oiled him to be king." It is,

however, with the coronation of Henry IV. that the halo of sacred legend may for the first time be discerned surrounding the Holy Oil, hailing originally, so it was alleged, from the stormy days of S. Thomas of Canterbury. According to this ancient legend, that masterful prelate was favoured during the period of his exile at Lyons by a special appearance of the Blessed Virgin. A golden eagle was bestowed upon the Archbishop by the Saint, combined with the assurance that any Sovereign who was "hallowed" with the oil which the said Eagle bore within its breast, would become for ever after a powerful champion of the cause of Holy Church. The oil was then delivered, by Our Lady's command, to a certain monk, who forthwith concealed it beneath a large stone in the church of S. Gregory at Poictiers. Here then did it remain for many years, all unknown to the kings upon whom it was designed to bring so special a blessing. At length, during the latter half of the fourteenth century, the great secret was suddenly revealed by the vision of an holy hermit. The oil was discovered in its resting-place, and was at once delivered to the keeping of the Black Prince. By his order, it was carefully treasured in the Tower, so to be ready to hand for the next coronation whenever it should take place. For some strange and unaccountable reason, all knowledge of this precious treasure seems to have become effaced from the minds of those in authority; and when the time arrived for Richard II. to be "hallowed to King," its existence was completely overlooked. Not until the last year of that troubled reign was the Holy Oil rediscovered. The King, grieving over this lost opportunity, appealed to Archbishop Courtenay, who stoutly refused,

however, to lend his sanction to any repetition of the rite of Unction, especially after the lapse of twenty long years. It was with a sigh of regret that Richard received the news of the Primate's decision ; but he continued to retain the Holy Oil in close proximity to his own person. One brief year longer of confusion and misrule followed, and then came the final crash, while the unhappy King was sojourning at Chester. His rival, "who entertained or affected to entertain the same superstitious value for it," compelled him to relinquish the treasure, and it was forthwith entrusted by Richard to the Archbishop, with the melancholy remark that it was intended doubtless for some more fortunate King.

Among the five members of the royal College, who were entitled to receive the rite of Sacred Unction, two stand out pre-eminently. The Kings, both of England and of France, alike possessed a unique privilege in connection with the Holy Oil. Whereas their three royal brethren were obliged to content themselves with a comparatively simple form of Unction, that is to say, with oil only, these two great potentates possessed the coveted privilege of being "hallowed" in a double sense. At our English coronations, according to the Liber Regalis, two "ampullæ" were employed, one of which contained pure oil ; but the other the holy "cream" or chrism, which was compounded of olive oil and balm—by far the most sacred of the three oils employed in the offices of the mediæval Western church. So great was the veneration displayed for this sacred "cream," that in the popular estimation, at any rate, it was held to be a special means for conveying to its recipient the grace of the Holy Spirit. The King was

first of all anointed with oil, upon his hands, breasts shoulders, and "the bowings of his elbows," as being those parts of the body which are respectively the seat of the understanding, and the affections, and also the instruments of action. All of these accordingly were thus consecrated to the service of God. Last of all, the head was anointed with oil, and finally the sacred "cream" was poured thereon, "*in formâ crucis.*"

Whatever virtue may have been attached to the particular oil with which Henry IV. was "hallowed," it is quite certain that the employment of this "cream" may be traced back at least a century anterior to that reign. Erroneous statements have been made on the other hand, to the effect that Queen Elizabeth at whose coronation the oil seems to have afforded but a slight satisfaction in that it was "greese and smelt ill," was the last English Sovereign who was thus consecrated. Recent investigations, however, have made it abundantly clear, that the old mediæval usage of employing "cream" (though, possibly not the identical "cream" of the legend!) long survived the Reformation, and indeed prevailed throughout the entire period of the Stuart dynasty.

On the early morning of the coronation day of Charles I., the sacred "cream" was duly "hallowed" upon the altar of S. Edward, hard by the venerated remains of the great Confessor. Laud who held at that time the Bishopric of S. Davids together with his prebendal stall in the Abbey officiated at the ceremony in the capacity of Sub-Dean, his official chief, the famous Lord Keeper, John Williams, being in a state of dire, though undeserved disgrace.

When the time arrived for James II. to receive in his turn the same solemn Unction as his forefathers,

The Coronation of Henry IV. in Westminster Abbey by Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury

remarkable pains were bestowed upon the manufacture of the oil. It was most carefully compounded by James St. Amand, the King's Apothecary; in fact the richness of its fragrance was so much admired by the royal pair, that the maker received a most substantial recognition of his trouble, in the shape of a fee amounting to no less than £200, which was paid him by the Treasurer of the Household. This "cream," like that consecrated by Laud nearly half a century previously, was solemnly blessed by the Dean (Thomas Sprat, Bishop of Rochester), just before the opening of the service.

This duty of consecrating the oil was assigned to the Chapter of the Abbey, provided that there existed among the members of that body an ecclesiastic of episcopal dignity. The fact has now been definitely established, that this custom of consecrating the holy oil continued right down to the coronation of George II., while it is more than probable that it has never ceased throughout the whole period spanned by the history of the coronation. It is well nigh impossible, save on this assumption, to explain the remarkable, and indeed almost unnecessary prominence of the rubric with which our existing coronation order commences :—"In the morning upon the day of the coronation early, care is to be taken that the Ampulla be filled with Oil, and together with the Spoon be laid ready upon the altar in the Abbey Church."

Nothing could possibly exceed the reverence with which the sacred "cream" was handled in this holy service. The solemn Oath that he would ever maintain and uphold his country's liberties having been duly tendered by the Primate, the Sovereign

was then conducted to King Edward's Chair. The Parliament Robes were next removed. Then the Archbishop, assisted by the Dean, proceeded to open certain places in the Tunic of his Majesty which had previously been closed by means of ribbons. Four Knights of the Garter, stepped forward to hold a magnificent pall, composed of cloth of gold, above his head the choir meanwhile singing the time-honoured words, which record the dramatic story of the anointing of King Solomon by Zadok the Priest and Nathan the Prophet. The Golden Eagle or Ampulla having been brought from the altar, the King was then carefully anointed in the manner already indicated. If his hair did not lie straight after the oil of unction had been poured upon it, then the ivory comb of S. Edward the Confessor was to be employed to smooth it. A Coif of white linen was placed upon the King's head, and not removed for a period of eight days, when the hair was "washed, dryed and kymbed"; in order to guard against the smallest possibility of irreverence. The places touched by the holy oil, with the exception of the head and hands, were carefully dried by the Abbot or Dean, as the case might be, with fine linen or cotton wool which was then as carefully burnt. Last of all, a pair of fine linen gloves (part of the Regalia) were placed upon the King's hands.

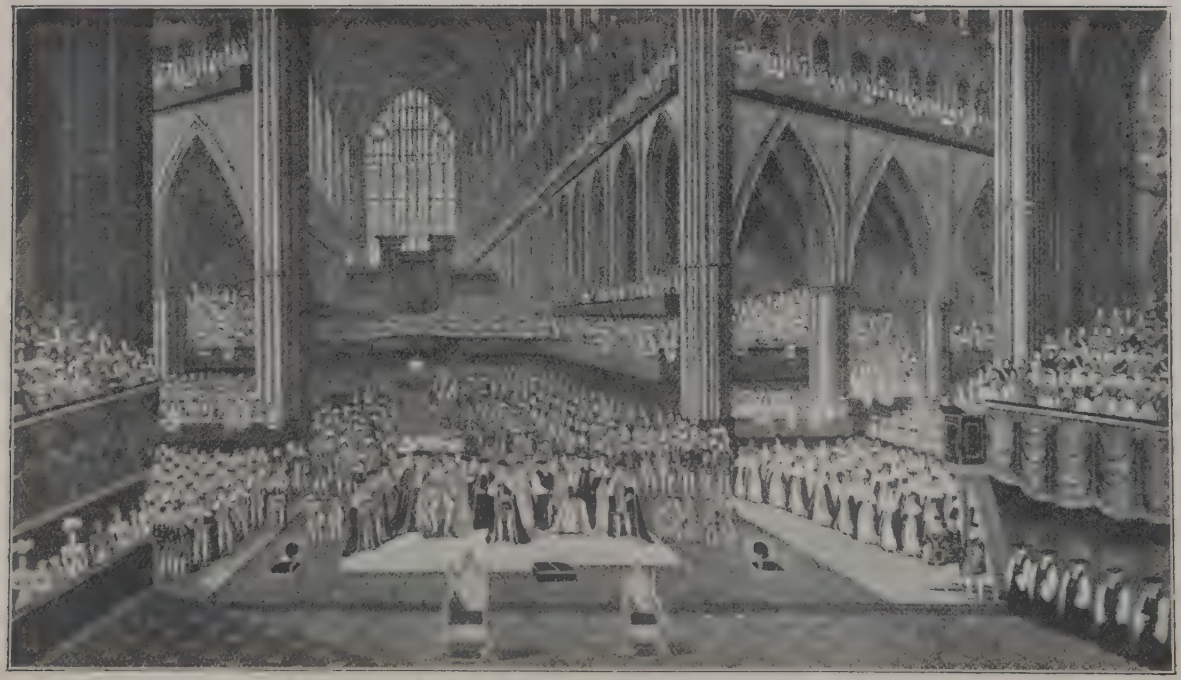
Two extracts from the "Little Device" furnish us with a graphic description of the manner in which this ceremony of sacred unction was performed at the coronation of Henry VII. First of all, it was ordained that the King should go "to the high aulter susteynged with the said Busshoppes, as aboue said, wher as the King shalbe vnraied and vnclothed

by his Chamberlayn, vnto his cote of crymesen saten largely opened as the sherts be, which all iij coots and ij sherts shall be opend afor, behinde, on the shuldres, and the elbowes, by the said Cardinall to thentent that in those places he be annoynted.

"And whiles he is anoynted, Sir Thomas Mongomery and Sir James Borough ben appoynted for to hold a pall ouer hym, andfurst, the said Cardinall, sitting, shall anoynt the King, kneling on quishhons, with holy oile, in the palmes of his hands, saying these words Vngatur manus, &c., with this colet Respice Omnipotens Deus, the quere synging in the meanetym, and contynuelly while the Kinge is anoynted, Vnxerunt Regem, and the salme, Domine, in vertute tua letabitur Rex, &c., he shall anoynte the King with the same oile on the brest, in the myddes of his bak, on his ij shuldres, on his ij elbowes, and on his hed, with the said oile making a crosse, and afterward making an other crosse with the holy creme on his said hed, after the end of that colet, the Cardynall seying to eury place to be anoynted, wordes conveniently, as is in example, to the hed these wordes Vngatur caput, and to the shuldres Vngantur scapule."

"And it is to be remembered that the Abbot of Westminster, after the Kinges inunccion, shall drye all the places of his body wher he was anoynted, with som coton or som lynon cloth, which is to be brend, and forthwith close and luse ayen the openyngs of the Kinges said shurte and cote, puttyng on the Kinges hands a pair of lynon gloves, to be brought thidre by his said Chamberlayn."

Curious variations have occurred from time to time in the actual method with which the sacred oil



William IV. and Queen Adelaide seated on their Thrones, immediately after the anointing and crowning of the Queen
On this occasion both the Coronation Chairs were used

was administered. Richard I. was stripped to his waist in order that the it might flow more freely over his person. Edward VI. was laid full length upon the High Altar of the Abbey while Cranmer kneeling in front of him proceeded to anoint his back. The sacred chrism, which was first used at the coronation of Henry IV., continued to be available for the great ceremonial services of the sixteenth century. The superstitious Mary, however, promptly rejected it with loathing and contempt, fearful lest the Papal thunders which had stormed against this land during the previous years of Protestant ascendency, should have impaired alike its validity and its efficacy. A brand new supply was therefore procured, thanks to the good offices of the Imperial ambassador. Every possible care was displayed in the benediction of this new oil, which ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Arras.

Many persons felt at the time certain uncomfortable misgivings, with reference to the oil of unction which was poured upon the head of the unlucky Charles I. The ceremony was carried out by the aged Archbishop Abbott—a strangely sinister method of procedure, seeing that the whole current of that prelate's public life had been altered by a most unhappy accident. It happened a few years previously that Abbott, through no fault whatsoever of his own, had killed a game-keeper by misadventure, while he himself was enjoying the pleasures of the chase in Lord Zouche's park at Bramshill in Hampshire. From that day forward a thick cloud overspread the whole future career of the Archbishop. To a large extent he was compelled to abstain from the exercise of his own

peculiar archiepiscopal functions, and indeed certain newly appointed bishops absolutely declined to undergo their own consecration at his hands. Curiously enough, this disability was not considered to incapacitate Archbishop Abbott from officiating in the same manner as his numerous predecessors in the Chair of S. Augustine at this coronation. The whole thing seems quite unintelligible. It may fairly be described, as having been one of the "mysteries" which are furnished by the history of our English coronations, that a man with a blight such as this upon his life, however accidental and blameless its origin, should have been selected for the purpose of "hallowing" a monarch, so rigidly orthodox in his own personal beliefs as Charles Stuart, and with such an adviser at his elbow as William Laud.

The coronation of the Queen Consort has always been briefer in character, and attended by far less ceremonial than that of her spouse. A cloth of gold canopy is held above her head also, the four Knights of the Garter being replaced by certain Ladies of the Bed-chamber. On the other hand, the Queen receives the unction in a *kneeling* posture, a faldstool being placed in front of the altar, and the sacred oil is only applied to her breast and head.

Enough has probably been said to indicate the deeply mystical significance of this remarkable ceremony of sacred unction; and above all, by necessary consequence, the sacred character which by this means is definitely conferred upon the Sovereigns of England. It is not a difficult task to picture to ourselves the truly awful sanctity with which a monarch must have been invested in the

eyes of his subjects after a consecration, conducted under such auspices as these. The lofty estimate of the whole regal position and all that is therein involved, throws at once a flood of light upon some of the strange and almost unnatural events which have heralded the coronations of more than one of our chief rulers, in the Middle Ages more especially. The heartless dash which was made for the possession of the crown by such monarchs as the Red King and his brother, when the bodies of their crowned and consecrated predecessors were as yet scarcely cold: the jealousies and the bitter animosities which well nigh reft asunder the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the realm in Norman and Plantagenet times, when they struggled so tenaciously for the coveted right of precedence: the appointment of an all-powerful viceroy in the person of the Lord High Steward whose business it was to fill the King's place, to be, in short, his "stead ward," during the anxious period of transition from one monarch to another: above all, the proud and eminent position occupied by the ancient Abbey of Westminster alike in our country's story and in the national heart, may one and all be deduced from this potent and far reaching fact. Once anointed and crowned the new Sovereign was for ever and ever set apart in his altogether unique office. The solemn ceremony of "sacring," stamped him indelibly with the indubitable tokens of kingly and religious dignity, as being the possessor of a mixed or dual character,—a character which has never received a definition, at once so incisive and so picturesque, as the well-known words of Shakespeare:—

> Not all the water in the rough rude sea
> Can wash the balm from an anointed king.

XVI

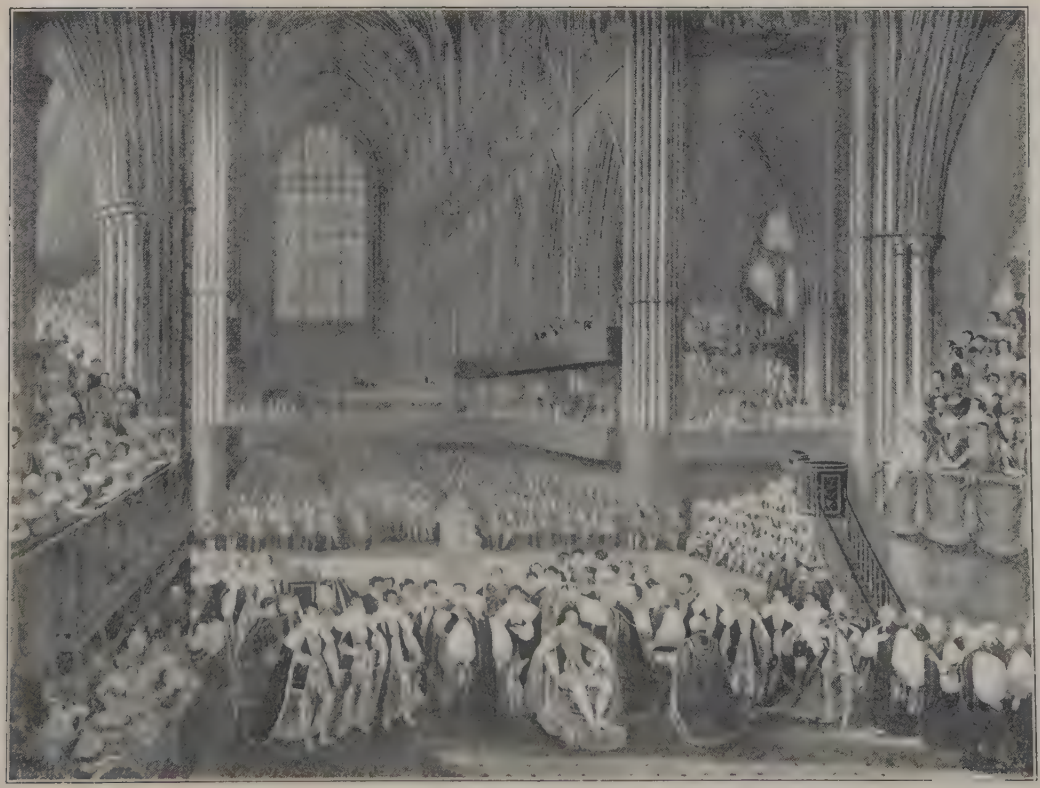
THE CROWNING OF THE KING

THE solemn act of unction is succeeded by a large number of highly symbolical ceremonies, which have taken place in a somewhat varying order from coronation to coronation. All of them, however, bear an intensely historic not to say interesting character. The investing with the Supertunic, the presentation of the great Golden Spurs, the oblation and redemption of the Sword, the investing with the Imperial Mantle, the delivery of the Orb, the investiture with Sceptre and Ring accompanied, as they are, with words of sacred meaning, point to certain definite aspects of kingship, which are inseparably associated, one and all of them, with the sovereign ruler of this land.

Then, at length, the grand climax draws near. The King, "inoiled" and invested, still awaits the final ceremony, which constitutes him the supreme

governor as well. The Primate takes up his position in front of the High Altar, holding the crown of S. Edward in his hands. He next offers a solemn prayer, during which the crown is duly blessed and consecrated. With the bishops grouped around him, he then makes his way to the aged coronation-chair, in which the Sovereign has once more been seated. S. Edward's crown having been brought from the altar by the Dean it is placed by the Archbishop upon the royal head, and the people of England are once more face to face with their King.

At this supremely exciting moment the whole of the vast and splendid assembly, hitherto almost silent spectators, bursts forth into a mighty chorus of loud and repeated acclamations. A signal is given simultaneously from the battlements of the Abbey; whereupon the great guns in S. James's Park and their more distant brethren at the Tower commence to boom forth their response of welcome to the new monarch. All the Peers and Peeresses, all the Knights of the Bath and the Kings-at-arms, forthwith proceed to heighten the general brilliancy of the scene, by donning their own respective coronets and caps. For a few moments nothing is to be heard save a perfect medley of cheers from the congregation, combined with the martial clangour of the fanfares blown by the state-trumpeters. Then, at length, as the noise slowly subsides, the voice of the Church's chief minister is heard once again, uplifted in words of prayer and benediction. Finally, the choir and organ take up the same thought, and the words of the anthem, which has figured in so many coronation ceremonies in the past, are heard



George IV. in the act of being crowned by Archbishop Manners Sutton

ringing against the vaulted roof of the Abbey, as though to call down Heaven's richest blessings upon the new ruler of the land :—"The King shall rejoice in Thy strength, O Lord; exceeding glad shall He be of Thy Salvation. Thou hast prevented Him with the Blessings of Goodness, and hast set a Crown of pure Gold upon his Head."

XVII

THE HOMAGE OF THE NOBLES

"HOMAGE," it has been said, "implies that at the coronation the King acquires a divine right, the possession of which is testified by his ascending into a throne, before which all the Peers do homage, *e.g.*, testify their allegiance—before the King summons them to attend him in the Great Council of the Nation." Such, in brief, was the meaning signified by this striking ceremony; which follows close upon the solemn act of crowning.

The Te Deum, having come to an end, the King, attended by his two supporter Bishops, and surrounded by the Great Officers of State, is led by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the "theatre." Here, elevated upon a dais of five steps, is placed the Chair of State, which has not so far been occupied in the course of the service. He is then duly enthroned, with words of solemn benediction. Then,

the Archbishop, with his suffragans grouped around him, kneels down before his Majesty, after which he takes the Oath of Fealty. The whole body of the prelates in order of seniority, next proceed to kiss the left cheek of the King. They are followed by the senior noblemen present in the several grades of the peerage, each of whom forthwith does homage on behalf of his own particular order. In conclusion, the remaining members of each rank ascend the theatre, and having removed their respective coronets, they, one after another, touch the King's head and kiss his left cheek.

The ceremony of the Homage has been graphically described in the "Little Device" for the coronation of Henry VII. It lays down directions that the King shall "sitt in his sege roiall accompanyed with all the peris of this realm, all the said peris to hym shall make feaute and homage, vndre such wourds and fourme as foloweth : the archbishoppes and bishoppes vndre this fourme. 'Ye shall swere that ye shalbe faithfull and true, and faith and trowthe ber ynto the King, our souerayn lord, and to his heures, Kinges of England, and truly ye shall do, and truly knowledge, the seruice due of the lands the which ye clayme to hold of hym as in the right of your church, as God shall helpe youe and the saynts.' And all the temperall lords vnder this ffourme, 'I. N., become your ligeman, of lif and lymme, and of earthly worshipp ; and feith, and trouthe I shalbere vnto you, to lyve and dye ayenst all manner of folke ; so God me help and his halowes.'"

The three main features in this portion of the coronation service are the Kiss, the Act of Homage,

The Enthronisation of James II. and Mary of Modena in Westminster Abbey

and the Oath of Fealty, all of which possess considerable historical interest.

The Kiss of Homage is said to derive its origin from the Christian Church. In some shape or form it has for many centuries been an inseparable accompaniment of the act of investiture. Its primary object seems to have been to signify the ideas of union and agreement, rather than those of reverence or submission. At one period in its history it was considered to possess the very highest importance, in fact, according to Selden, "the Kiss of Homage is so essential also that the homage hath not enough it seems of what is legal without it; for, in the time of Henry VI., a great plague being about London, a bill was put up in Parliament "to ordain and grant" (so are the words of the roll) "by the autoritie of this present Parliament that everiche of your said lieges in the doing of their said homage may omit the said kissing of you, and be excused thereof (at your will the homage being of the same force as though they kissed you), and have their letters of doing their homage, the kissing of you omitted notwithstanding. And the Bill having passed both houses, the subscription is Le roy le voet, as the usual words of his consent are."

The Act of Homage represented a mutual acknowledgment on the part of lord and tenant alike, that the latter was the man or vassal of the former. This fact is therefore made manifest, by an act of personal obeisance on the part of the tenant, which is met by the lord with a corresponding sign of recognition and acceptance. Thus, homage, for obvious reasons, can only be performed "by the person of the tenant to the person of the lord."

The method of its performance has been summed up by Lyttelton as follows :—"Homage is the most honourable service and most humble service of reverence that a frank tenant may doe to his lord. For when the tenant shall make homage to his lord, he shall be ungirt, and his head uncovered, and his lord shall sit, and the tenant shall kneele before him on both his knees, and hold his hand joyntly together betweene the hands of his lord, and shall say thus : 'I become your man from this day forward of life and limbe and of earthly worship and unto you shall be true and faithfull and beare you faith for the tenements that I claime to hold of you (saving the faith that I owe unto our Soveraigne lord the King),' and then the lord so sitting shall kisse him."

The Oath of Fealty, though closely associated with the Act of Homage, bears an altogether different signification. It may be defined as being a promise made by the tenant upon oath, that he will be a true and loyal vassal to his lord, and perform all the services due from him with the utmost fidelity.

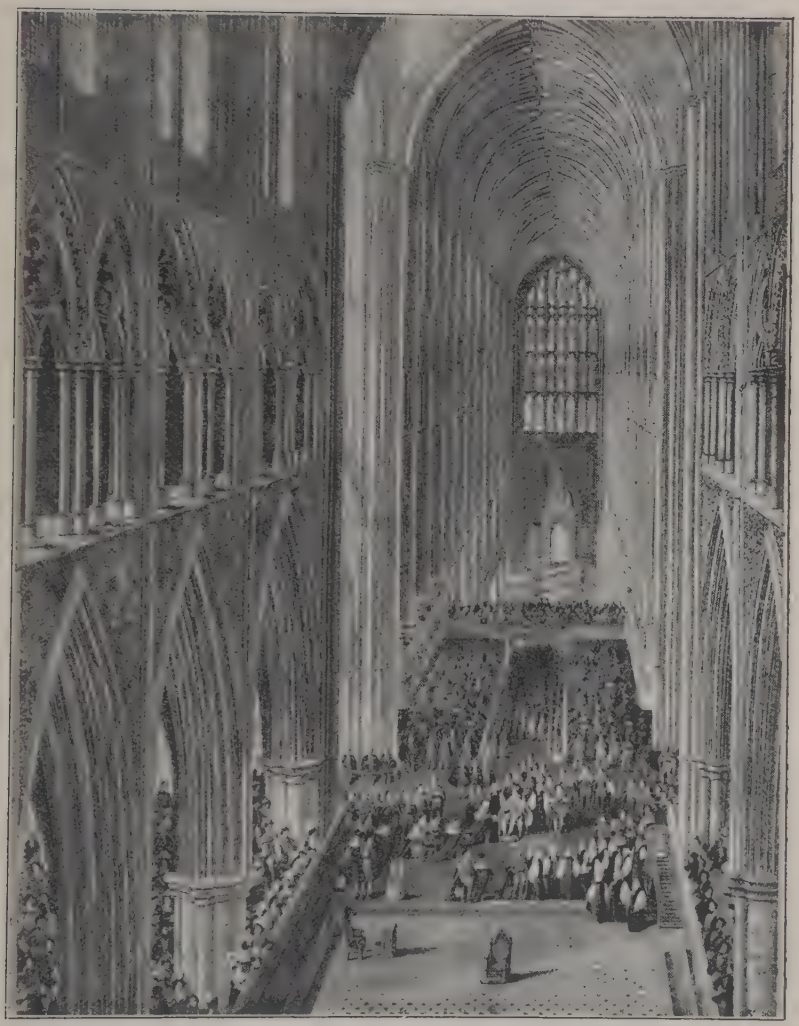
The two ceremonies, though originally they were wholly distinct from one another, have nevertheless come to be closely blended together, so much so, in fact, that they appear to be very nearly synonymous in character, as well as simultaneous in time.

The performance of the Homage used to be the most lengthy and tedious portion of the entire ceremony in the Abbey; indeed, at Victoria's coronation, it was calculated beforehand to occupy very nearly three-quarters of an hour!

In the hands of George IV. this dignified ceremony was within an ace of degenerating into a mere

piece of burlesque. Party feeling was running exceedingly high. The scandalous relations between the King and Queen were the general topic of conversation at the time. Many persons had felt it incumbent upon themselves to assume a very decided attitude one way or the other—a fact of which the King was fully cognisant. Accordingly, as each Peer in his turn ascended the steps of the "theatre," there to perform the duty required of his station, "the first gentleman in Europe" is recorded to have displayed the liveliest tokens of disgust or approval, as the case might be. This undignified demeanour on the part of the chief performer was unfortunately still further enhanced by the overpowering heat of the Abbey. Already had the King well nigh collapsed, beneath the general strain of his arduous duties, though fortunately, Mr. Christopher Hodgson, the Archbishop's Secretary, had succeeded in averting this disaster by the timely loan of a bottle of smelling salts! When, however, George IV. was finally ensconced upon his throne, a long succession of pocket handkerchiefs were employed by his Majesty with which to wipe his perspiring brow, each one of which was thrust successively into the unwilling hands of Archbishop Manners Sutton, standing there by his side!

The Homage of seventeen years later presented a totally different spectacle. Two of the most touching incidents recorded in the entire history of English coronations took place before the throne of Queen Victoria. The aged Duke of Sussex completely broke down and had to be led away by the surrounding Peers, when he proceeded to salute his niece, newly crowned and anointed, as his



The Homage of the Nobles at the Coronation of George IV.

(Taken from the Great Gallery at the east end of the Abbey)

Sovereign. A few minutes later, Lord Rolle, another veteran, fell to the floor as he endeavoured to ascend the steps. No sooner, however, did the old man gather himself together in order to present himself a second time, than the youthful Queen arose from her Throne and, advancing several steps to meet him, took him by the hand,—a gracious act which produced loud and repeated plaudits.

XVIII

THE CORONATION BANQUET IN WESTMINSTER HALL

No sooner had the Procession quitted Westminster Hall than a general transformation was speedily effected. For a time the great building was almost deserted of spectators, none remaining save the unfortunate few whose tickets did not procure them admission to the service in the Abbey. Three tables were quickly laid along each side of the Hall, the royal table being placed on the dais immediately in front of the throne. Masses of gorgeous plate now began to appear on all the tables, while on that reserved for the Sovereign and his relations, were to be seen the famous salt-cellars of Queen Elizabeth and Charles II., together with other equally splendid pieces. All of these multitudinous preparations were carried out under the immediate superintendence

of the Sergeant and Gentlemen of the Ewry, together with the Officers of the Pantry.

Such was the length of the service that in recent centuries, at any rate, the illumination of the Hall became a practical necessity, since it was not reached until evening had set in. Still, the general results of such illumination were not invariably of the happiest character. At George III.'s coronation, for instance, which took place towards the end of September, the King and Queen with their grand train of Peers, Peeresses, and other attendants, did not reappear till six o'clock in the evening, owing to the protracted muddle of the ceremonial in the Abbey. By this hour, the interior of Westminster Hall was shrouded in deep masses of gloom. The bulk of the Procession entered, therefore, under the most sombre and funereal surroundings; for, the lighting-up of the Hall was reserved as a splendid *coup d'œil* upon the entry of the royal couple. At length the Queen's canopy appeared, and the thousand lights contained in the chandeliers were forthwith ignited by means of trains of prepared flax, reaching from one to the other. For the moment, however, there was a scene of abject terror. The entire Hall appeared to be one big blaze, and, for the space of half a minute, there fell a perfect *rain* of fire upon the heads of all the spectators, as the great masses of burning flax descended in every direction. It was over immediately, no one of the company being any the worse, save for the temporary shock to the nerves!

The grand entry of the Procession was effected with considerably more dignity at the next coronation; but once again, the system whereby the Hall was illuminated, was productive of no small discom-

fort to the royal guests. Twenty-eight magnificent lustres, shaped like Worcester vases, and containing, each of them, some sixty wax lights, were suspended from the angels in the roof of the Hall, by means of gold chains ; while the actual tables groaned beneath the weight of magnificent candelabras. It was the sultry season of the year. In spite of every possible precaution, the ventilation of the Hall bid fair to rival that of the Abbey, which had already been within an ace of effecting a royal collapse. Not only did the chandeliers contribute very largely to the increase of the temperature, so much so that not a few noble ladies fainted clean away, but "the superb dresses were spoiled by the profuse globules of melted wax, which were continually falling," while to increase the general embarrassment, escape was practically impossible, since every means of egress was barred. "If a lovely female dared to raise her look to discover from what quarter the unwelcome visitation came, she was certain of receiving an additional patch upon her cheeks, which, in order to disencumber herself of, obliged her to wipe away also the roseate hue, which had been imparted to her countenance at her toilet, thereby obliging her to wear a double face, of nature on the one side, and of art on the other. Many a sly attempt was made to obtain a change of situation, which in a general sense may not be considered as extraordinary in a lovely woman ; but the wretched tenants of a slave ship were never more closely packed together, and the powers of locomotion appeared to be confined solely to the head. The very great heat was no where more visible than in the havoc which it made upon the curls of many of the ladies, several of whose

The Coronation Procession of George IV. passing from the Abbey to Westminster Hall

(To give a more extensive view of the Procession the artist has removed the roof of the platform)

heads had lost all traces of the friseur's skill, long before the ceremony of the day was concluded."

At the same coronation, the effect of the Procession into the hall was not a little marred, by the general sense of fatigue, and the still more evident tokens of hunger displayed by the guests. In this latter respect the worthy Aldermen achieved no little distinction. So anxious were they to maintain their traditional reputation, where bodily refreshment was concerned, that they proceeded to break the line of the Procession and storm one of the tables, for which they were ignominiously sent to the right about by the Heralds!

The royal portion of the Procession having passed forthwith through the Hall, and up the steps, the King and Queen retired to the Court of Wards, leaving their canopies behind them, in the possession of the Barons of the Cinque Ports, as their own own special perquisites. Then an interval ensued, during which the Peers and Peeresses were conducted to their seats, the Sovereign and his Consort remaining in the meantime in the Court of Wards. As soon as the needful preparations had been completed, they returned to their Chairs of State, wearing their crowns, with orb and sceptres in their hands, while the four great swords were carried immediately in front of his Majesty.

The first act in the coronation Banquet followed at once. Anything more delightfully picturesque, it is well-nigh impossible to conceive, than the stately Procession, technically described as "the Bringing Up of the First Course."

The servers first of all made their way to the dresser of the kitchen. A dish of meat was

demanded by the Sergeant of the Silver Scullery, who wiped the bottom, and took "assay" of it (*i.e.*, tasted it). Then the Procession started in the following order, marching up the full length of the Hall to the accompaniment of the state trumpeters' fanfares, and amid the rapturous applause of the whole assembly.

Two Clerks Comptrollers, in velvet gowns trimmed with gold lace, with black velvet caps in their hands.

Two Clerks of Green Cloth.

Master of the House. Cofferer.

Six Sergeants-at-Arms with their Maces.

Three Great Officers, in their robes of estate, and their Coronets on their heads, mounted on goodly horses; viz.,

Earl Marshal with his Staff. Lord High Steward with his Staff. Lord High Constable with his Staff.

Six Sergeants at Arms with their Maces.

Comptroller of His Majesty's Household. Treasurer of His Majesty's Household.

Assistant to the Queen's Server. Her Majesty's Server.

Assistant to the King's Server. His Majesty's Server.

The dishes of hot meat brought up by the Gentlemen Pensioners two and two, followed by the mess of pottage or gruel called dillegrout, which is brought to the table by the Lord of the Manor of Addington in Surrey.

Two Clerks of the Kitchen, in black satin gowns, with velvet caps in their hands.

The dishes having been duly set upon the table by the clerks of the kitchen, the members of the Procession resumed their places, the mounted portion being condemned to go through the alarming performance of *backing* their steeds down the Hall.

On one occasion this portion of the ceremonial was actually responsible for a duel, which providentially did not meet with any fatal termination. To quote Horace Walpole's account of the coronation in question, that of George III.—"Lord Talbot piqued himself on backing his horse down the Hall, and not turning its rump towards the King; but he had taken such pains to dress it to that duty, that it entered backwards; and, at his retreat the spectators clapped!" This incident proved altogether too great a temptation for the notorious John Wilkes; and he could not resist exercising his wit at the expense of the unhappy Lord Talbot in so unpalatable a manner, that a mortal quarrel was the result!

Still further ceremonial awaited its due and wonted performance, ere the hungry company were permitted to give vent to the claims of appetite. The service of Ewry was at once commenced by the Lord Great Chamberlain, with the assistance of the Royal Cup-bearer, and the Lord of the Manor of Heydon. Preceded by Black Rod, these functionaries brought forward the great gilt basin and ewer together with the towel. The water was poured forth upon the hands of the King and Queen by the Cup-bearer, the towel being served by the Lord of the Manor of Heydon. Now at length, Grace was said by the Bishop of London, as Dean of the Chapel Royal; and their Majesties sat down to dinner. Throughout the repast they were surrounded by a splendid group of high functionaries, consisting of the four Supporter Bishops, the Lord of the Manor of Worksop bearing the sceptre, the Lords who carried the four swords, the Lord Great Chamberlain,

with the Queen's Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain, the latter of whom was entrusted with the charge of her sceptre, and the ivory rod with the dove.

The first course concluded, the Lord of the Manor of Addington presented himself with his uninviting "mess of pottage." No record has descended to us of any Sovereign having had the hardihood to taste this unpleasant concoction! Addington then gave place to Great Wymondley; whose lord was entitled as Chief Cup-bearer, to serve the King with the first cup of drink, which beverage was offered in a silver gilt cup.

A grand flourish of trumpets at the extreme end of the Hall promptly arrested the attention of the whole assembly so soon as the First Course had been cleared away. The most popular ceremony of the entire coronation now commenced, as the mail-clad Dymoke pranced into the hall, mounted upon his magnificently caparisoned charger; "the best but one" which the royal stables could provide. The ceremony of the Challenge has been fully described elsewhere; and fascinating though it is, we cannot dwell further upon any of its attractive accompaniments. The description given by Hall in his account of Henry VIII.'s coronation is, however, so picturesque and dramatic, that for the sake of the general completeness it is here appended:—"The second course beyng served, in at the haule door entered a knight armed at al poyntes, his bases rich tissue embroidered, a great plume and a sumpteous of oistriche fethers on his helmet, sittyng on a great courser trapped in tissue and embroidered with the armes of England and of Fraunce, and an

George IV. pledging his Champion, Henry Dymoke, at the Ceremony of the Challenge

herauld of armes before hym, and passyng through the halle, presented hymself with humble reverence before the kinges majestie, to whom Garter Kyng of herauldes cried and said with a loude voyce, Sir Knight, from whence comes you, and what is your pretence? This knightes name was Sir Robert Dimmocke, champion to the Kyng by tenure of enheritaunce, who answered the saied kyng of armes in effecte after this manner: Sir, the place that I come from is not materiall, nor the cause of my repaire hether is not concerning any matter of any place or countrey, but only this. And therewithall commanded his owne heralde, by proclamacion to saie: If there be any persone, of what estate or degree soever he be, that wil saie or prove that King Henry the eight is not the rightfull enheritor and Kyng of this realme, I, Sir Robert Dimmocke here his champion offre my glove, to fight in his querell with any persone to thutterances."

The Challenge was succeeded by the performance of the Largess, together with the proclamation of the King's Style. The three Provincial Kings-at-Arms wearing their crowns, and attended by the whole of the College of Heralds proceeded to the lower end of the Hall. Having here performed their obeisance, they forthwith advanced up its whole length, making their reverence at the same identical points as the proclamation of the Challenge. Next, Garter King-at-Arms from the top of the steps cried aloud "Largess" three times over, and having received his Majesty's favour, the style of the new monarch was proclaimed three times, in Latin, French and English respectively. The title of Queen Elizabeth is perhaps the most interesting, by reason mainly

of its unblushing effrontery, viz.:—"Of the most high and mightye Princeses our dread Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queene of England, France and Irelande, defender of the trewe auncient and Catholic faithe, most worthy Empress from the Orcade Isles to the Mountaynes Pyrenes." The proclamation was repeated six times more, thrice in the centre, and thrice at the end of the Hall.

The Bringing up of the Second Course now took place, being conducted in the same fashion and with identically the same ceremonial as the First Course. Last of all, there followed a number of ancient services, described in a former chapter as being rendered to the Sovereign, *e.g.*, the Lord of the Manor of Nether Bilsington in Kent, with his three maple cups; the Mayor and eight Burgesses of the city of Oxford, who presented to the King a gilt cup of wine covered, receiving the three maple cups in return, and the Lord of the Manor of Leiston, with the charger containing the wafers. Last of all, while the latter were being eaten by the King and Queen, the Lord Mayor of London, and twelve of the civic fathers appeared on the scene bearing a golden cup of wine, and the service of Ewry having been duly performed once more, the coronation feast was terminated with Grace, said on this occasion by the Clerk of the Closet. The King and Queen finally withdrew into the Court of Wards, where they restored the Regalia, which had adorned their persons during the ceremony to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and the great day was over.

Some of the details with which the last of the great coronation Banquets concluded will possess a

special interest to-day. No sooner had the final services been rendered than some Peer whose name has not descended to us, rose in his place and exclaimed, aloud, "Good health, and a long and happy reign to King George the Fourth." Every one simultaneously arose, and nine rounds of terrific cheers were given, in such a manner as almost to make the old Hall of William Rufus shake to its foundations. The next moment the Lord Chancellor shouted, "We drink the health of a subject with three times three, and we should have drunk that of His Majesty with nine times nine." Another tremendous burst followed, coupled with the singing of the National Anthem by the choir. George IV. then arose from his throne, and in a voice which rang through every part of the vast assembly cried, "The King thanks his Peers for drinking his health, and does them the honour of drinking their health and that of his good people." Finally, the Banquet terminated with the singing by the choir of the ancient anthem, "Non nobis, Domine."

This demonstration of enthusiastic loyalty was followed in quick succession by a scene of such unparalleled audacity, that we almost forget its utter unseemliness in our admiration for the keen, business-like propensities of the general body of persons still remaining in the Hall. The order for "licensed plunder" had apparently gone forth. A simultaneous rush was made; and in the shortest possible time, all the smaller articles on the tables had been transferred to the pockets of these well-to-do thieves. Had it not been for the personal efforts of the Lord Great Chamberlain, even the larger and more costly portions of the coronation plate would have incurred

The Coronation Banquet of George IV. Bringing up the Second Course

a similar fate. The occupants of the galleries, who, owing to some mistake in the regulations, had been tied to the Hall, and compelled to fast throughout the entire day, while exposed to the additional trial of a tantalising prospect before their eyes, now poured down the stairs, and, without further ceremony, eagerly joined in the general scramble. Every single article of refreshment, liquid or solid, promptly disappeared with lightning-like rapidity. One lady was witnessed in the act of purloining a spoon. It was suggested that the application of some form of physical compulsion to her would be by no means undesirable; whereupon she screamed :—"Man, lay a finger on me, and I will scream my heart out." She was suffered to go in peace together with her ill-gotten gains!

Then came a rush to leave the Hall—no easy matter under the circumstances; indeed, it was a sheer impossibility for the carriages to reach the entrance until many hours had elapsed. The early hour at which every one present had risen from slumber, combined with the general fatigue and excitement induced by the gorgeous scenes through which they had recently passed, now brought about a general collapse. "Peers and Peeresses, Judges, and Privy Councillors, Knights of all orders, and commoners of all degrees, were alike worn out by fatigue, and lay promiscuously, some on sofas, some on chairs, and a still greater number on the matted floors of the rooms and passages, in which they happened to have sought refuge." Three o'clock resounded from the Clock Tower ere the entire company had departed; and by that unearthly hour, we may rest well assured there were few persons who would

hesitate to say with Horace Walpole :—"What is the finest sight in the world? A coronation. What do people most talk about? A coronation. *What is the thing most delightful to have passed? A coronation.*"

XIX

SOME ROYAL FEASTS

NATURALLY enough the preparations necessitated by this royal feast were conducted on the most extensive, not to say extravagant, lines. The burden of providing the good cheer was generally laid upon the sheriffs of the various counties. Missions were despatched to these local magnates, directing them to co-operate with the royal purveyors in procuring oxen, sheep, and so on, in proportion to the size and general character of the districts over which they respectively exercised jurisdiction. Wine, as we should naturally expect, was supplied from those southern lands, which were at one time the chief pride and glory of our Plantagenet Kings. The vast quantity which must have been requisitioned from the Seneschal of Gascony, the Constable of Bourdeaux and their colleagues, can only be to us a matter for conjecture, in view of such extravagances

The Coronation Banquet of James II. The Bringing-up of the First Course

as the golden eagle in Palace Yard at Richard II.'s coronation, which spouted a constant and varied succession of different kinds of wine, procurable by the general public, without money and without price; or again, the nine fountains in Cheapside, perpetually running with red and white wines, which graced the coronation of Henry IV.

The preparations made for the coronation of Edward I. and Queen Eleanor fairly startle us, by reason of the prodigality which characterised them. They afford a fair indication of the responsibility imposed upon the royal caterers. Directions were given to provide three hundred and eighty head of cattle, four hundred and thirty sheep, four hundred and fifty pigs, eighteen wild boars, two hundred and seventy eight flitches of bacon, and nearly twenty thousand capons and fowls. It is scarcely surprising to learn that it was found needful to build a kitchen of enormous size, in order to cope with so varied and extensive a collection of the beasts of the earth.

Katherine of France, Queen Consort of Henry V., was crowned separately on S. Matthias Day, 1420. Her coronation Banquet was notable for its very marked Lenten flavour; as the following bill of fare will show:—

After the "solempnysacion" in the church, Fabian informs us that the Queen was "conueyed in to the greate halle of Westmynster, and there set to dyner. Upon whose ryght hande satte at the ende of the same table the archebyshop of Cauntorbury, and Henrye surnamed the ryche cardynall of Wynchester. And vppon the lefte hande of the quene satte the kynge of Scottes in hys estate, the whyche

was serued wyth couered messe, like vnto the forenamed byshoppes, but after them."

"And ye shall vnderstande, that this feaste was

Sir Robert Townshend and Sir Francis Lawley, Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, representing the Dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy at the Coronation of James II.

al of fyshe. And for the orderyng of the seruyce thereof were dyuers lordes appoynted for hede offycers, as stewarde, controller, surueyour, and other honourable offyces. The which with other ordered the seruyce of the feast as followeth, and thus for the fyrst course. Brawne and mustarde,

ded elles in burneuz, frument with balien, pyke in erbage, lamprey powdered, trought, codlyng, playes fryed, marlyng fryed, crabbys, leche lumbarde floryshed, tartys. And a sotyltye called a pellycane syttyng on her nest with her byrdes, and an ymage of saynte Katheryne holdyng a boke and disputyng with the doctoures, holdynge a reason in her ryght hande, saiynge; 'Madame le royne,' and the pellycan as an answer 'Ce est la signe et du roy, pur tenir ioy, et a tout so gent, elle mete sa entent.'"

"The second course—gely coloured wyth columbyne floures, white potage or creme of almandes, breme of the see, counger, solys, cheuen, barbyll with roche, freshe samon, halybut, gurnarde, rochet broyled, smelth fryed, creuys or lobster; leche damaske with the kynges worde or prouerbe flourysshed, 'Vnc sanz plus'; lamprey freshe baken, flampeyne flourysshed with a scochon royall, and therein iii. crownes of golde planted with floure delyce and floures of camemyll wrought of confeccions. And a sotyltye named a panter with an ymage of saynte Katheryne with a whele in her hande, and a rolle wyth a reason in that other hande, sayeng, 'La royne ma file, in ceste ile, per bon reson, aues renoun.'"

"The thyrde course." This was likewise of fish; with "a leche called the whyte leche flouryshed with hawthorne leuys and redde hawys. A marche payne garnyshed wyth dyuers fygures of angelles, among of which was set an ymage of saint Katheryne holding thys reason, Il est escrit, pur uoir et eit, per mariage pure cest guere ne dure. And lastly a sotyltie named a tigre lokynge in a myrrour, and a man syttynge on horsse backe clene armed

holdyng in his armes a tigre whelpe with this reason, Per force sanz reason ie ay pryse ceste beste. And with his own hande makynge a countenaunce of throyng of myrrours at the great tigre. The whych held this reason, Gile che mirrour, ma fete. distour. And thus with al honour was finished this solempne coronacion."

In case this Lenten repast should convey an inadequate impression of the general sumptuousness of the coronation Banquet, a specimen is here appended of the various "messes," which were provided *at one table only* at the coronation of James II. To a modern digestion, this menu would appear to be positively terrifying.

"A catalogue of the several MEATS contained in the MESS served up to their MAJESTIES table at the upper end of Westminster Hall for their coronation dinner, April 23, 1685. The figures following referring to the numbers marked on the several dishes in the sculpture (*i.e.*, the plan) representing the said Table :—

1.	Pistachio Cream in Glasses	
2.	Anchoviz	cold.
3.	Custards	
4.	Collar'd Veal	
5.	Lamb Stones	hot.
6.	Cocks Combs	
7.	Marrow Patie	
8.	Jelly	cold.
9.	Sallet	
10.	Stags Tongues	
11.	Sweet Breads	hot.
12.	Patty Pidgeon	
13.	Petty Toes	

14. Cray Fish
15. Blumange } cold.
16. Bolonia Sausages

17. Collops and Eggs
18. Frigase Chick } hot.
19. Rabbets Ragon

20. Oysters Pickled
21. Portugal Eggs } cold.
22. Dutch Beef

23. Andolioes
24. Mushroomes } hot.
25. Veal

26. Hogs Tongues
27. Cheese Cakes } cold.
28. Ciprus Birds

29. Tansie
30. Asparagus } hot.
31. A Pudding

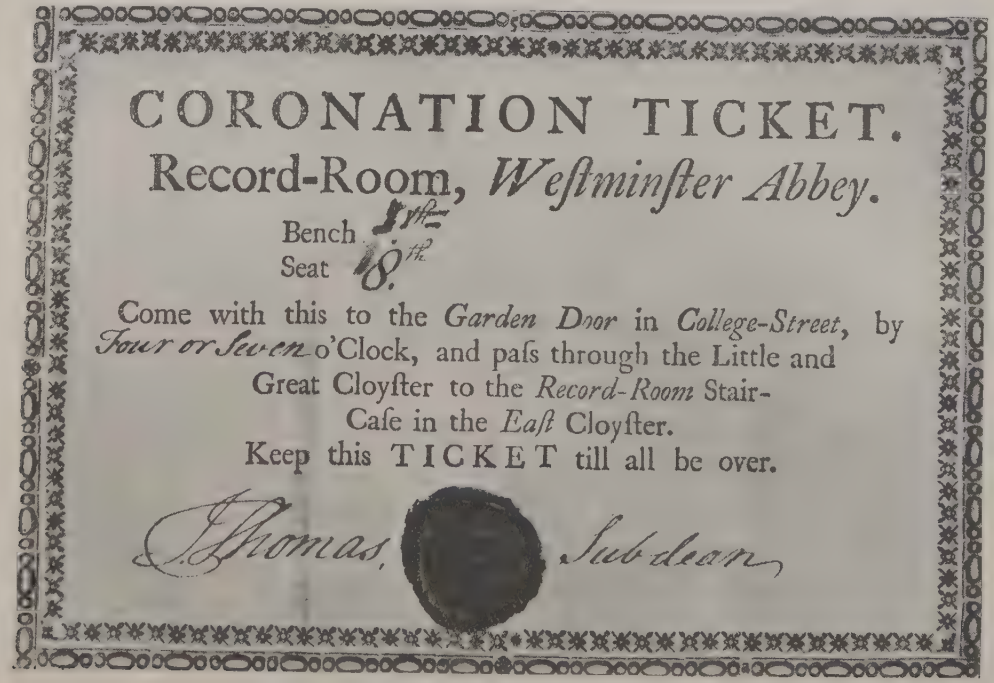
32. Ragou of Oysters
33. Scallops } cold.
34. Salamagundy

35. Three Dozen Glasses of Lemon Jelly.
36. Five Neats Tongues, cold.
37. Four Dozen of wild Pigeons, twelve Larded, hot.
38. A whole Salmon, cold.
39. Eight Pheasants, three Larded cold.
40. Nine small Pidgeon Pyes, cold.
41. Twenty four Fat Chickens, six Larded, hot.
42. Twenty Crabs, cold.
43. Twenty four Partridges, six Larded, hot.
44. A Dish of Tarts.
45. Soles Marinated, cold.

46. Twenty four Tame Pidgeon, six Larded, hot.
47. Four Fawns, two Larded, hot.
48. Four Pullets la Dobe
49. Twelve Quails } hot.
50. Four Partridges hasht
51. Ten Oyster Pyes, hot.
52. Sallet.
53. Pease.
54. Four Dozen of Puddings, hot.
55. Artichokes.
56. Beef a la Royal hot.
57. An Oglio, hot.
58. Pease.
59. A Betalia Pye.
60. Artichokes.
61. Sallet.
62. Three Turkeys a la Royal, hot.
63. Four Chicke
64. Bacon Gammon } hot.
65. Spinnage
66. Three Pigs, hot.
67. Almond Puff.
68. Twelve Stump Pyes, cold.
69. A square Pyramide, rising from Four large Dishes on the Angles, and Four lesser Dishes on the sides, containing the several Fruits in season, and all manner of Sweet-Meats.
70. A whole Lamb Larded, hot.
71. Twelve Ruffs.
72. Four Dozen of Egg-Pyes, cold.
73. A very large Circular Pyramide in the middle of the Table, rising from twelve

Dishes in the Circumference, six of which were large and the other six less, containing the several Fruits in season, and all manner of Sweet-Meats.

74. Six Mullets large Souc'd.
75. Eight Godwits.
76. Eight Neat Tongues and Udders roasted, hot.
77. A square Pyramide, rising from four large Dishes, on the Angles, and four lesser on the Sides, containing the several Fruits in season, and all manner of Sweet-Meats.
78. Eighteen Minc'd Pyes, cold.
79. Marrow Tosts.
80. Eight Wild Ducks Marinated, hot.
81. Gooseberry Tarts
82. Lampreys
83. Shrimps } cold.
84. Twenty-four Puffins, cold.
85. Smelts.
86. Truffles.
87. Four dozen of Petit-Paties, hot.
88. Morels.
89. Five Carps, cold.
90. Blumange in Shells, cold.
91. Mushrooms.
92. Four doz. of Almond Puddings, hot.
93. Asparagus.
94. Eight Ortelans.
95. Lamb Sallet, cold.
96. Five Partridge Pyes
97. Smelts Marinated
98. Turt. de Moil } cold.


CORONATION TICKET.
Record-Room, Weſtminſter Abbey.
Bench 1ſt
Seat 18th
Come with this to the Garden Door in College-Street, by
Four or Seven o'Clock, and paſs through the Little and
Great Cloyſter to the Record-Room Stair-
Caſe in the Eaſt Cloyſter.
Keep this TICKET till all be over.
Thomas, Sub dean

Ticket of Admission to the Coronation of George III.

99. Eighteen Turky Chicks, six Larded, hot.
100. Twelve Lobsters, cold,
101. Nine Pullets, four Larded, hot.
102. Bacon, two Gammons, cold.
103. Twelve Leverets, four Larded, hot.
104. Sturgeon, cold.
105. Twenty-four Ducklings, six Larded, hot.
106. Collar'd Beef, cold.
107. Eight Capons, three Larded, hot.
108. Five Pullet Pyes, cold.
109. Eight Geese, three Larded, hot.
110. Three Souc'd Pigs, cold.
111. Three Dozen Glasses of Jelly.

112.	Botargo	cold.
113.	Gerkins	
114.	Souc'd Trout	
115.	Sheep's Tongues	hot
116.	Skirrets	
117.	Cabbage Pudding	
118.	Eight Teals Marin.	cold.
119.	French Beans	
120.	Leveret Pye	
121.	Lemon Sallet	cold.
122.	Smelts Pickl'd	
123.	Periwinkles	
124.	Chicks Marl'd	cold.
125.	Cavear	
126.	Olives	
127.	Prawns	cold.
128.	Samphire	
129.	Trotter Pye	
130.	Taffata Tarts	cold.
131.	Razar Fish	
132.	Brooms Buds	

133. Collar'd Pigs
134. Parmazan } cold.
135. Capers

136. Spinage Tart
137. Whitings Marinated } cold
138. Cockles

139. Pickl'd Mushrooms
140. Prawns } cold
141. Mangoes

142. Bacon Pye
143. Cardoons } cold.
144. Souc'd Tench

145. Three Dozen Glasses of Blumange, cold.

Besides these 145 Dishes, there were Thirty more served up to their Majesties Table, at the Second Course. In all 175 Dishes."

XX

THIRTEEN CENTURIES OF CORONATIONS

THE first English coronation, which has actually been recorded, took place in the year 785, when Egferth, was solemnly "hallowed to King," by Mercian Offa, his mighty father. From the eighth century, there also dates the earliest information we possess as to the main structure of the coronation service. It is found in the "Pontificale," of Egbert, Archbishop of York. A very cursory examination of this document, together with the still more elaborate record of the inauguration of Ethelred II. in 978, reveals one highly remarkable fact. Both of these offices alike display, in all their essential features, a remarkable similarity to the coronation orders of a later age. Indeed, it may be asserted, without any fear of exaggeration, that the solemn service,

upon which the thoughts of the whole English race are concentrated to-day, is not merely the lineal descendant, but is actually one and the same, with the ancient offices employed at the "sacring" of past heroes of our nation, like Egferth and Alfred, Edgar and Athelstan.

The coronations of our Saxon monarchs, in so far as they have been rescued from the dim obscurity of doubtful tradition, fail, with one or two exceptions, to present any feature of a specially striking type. The most remarkable custom, associated with the "hallowing" of our early English kings, consisted in the solemn enthronement of the sovereign upon the royal chair of Kingston. Seven monarchs, if not more, dating from the reign of Edward the Elder, onwards, were duly lifted up, and placed upon this regal seat. The gallant Athelstan was one of the first: "a thin, spare man, with his yellow hair, beautifully inwoven with threads of gold." Vested in his purple robe, with a Saxon sword depending from a jewelled belt, Athelstan took up his position "upon a stage erected high," that he might be "seen the better of the multitude." He was "elevated" upon a shield; and carried to the church, where Aldhelm, the primate, was awaiting him, his warriors in the exuberance of their loyalty, not restraining themselves from actually tossing him into the air!

The last but one of these Kingston monarchs was Ethelred II., usually termed the "Unready." For thirty-six years did this Sovereign endeavour to wield what was only the merest shadow of authority. From first to last, his reign was a colossal failure, and it drew to its close, surrounded by every circum-

stance of degradation. Ethelred's unhappy career possesses a singular interest, when viewed in the light of his coronation. This last-named event was signalised by a furious outburst on the part of the archbishop, which indeed would appear to be almost prophetic in character. Smarting with rage for the cruel murder of King Edward, his own especial favourite, Dunstan forthwith proceeded to denounce the new Sovereign ; who, after all, was personally free from all stain of guilt in the matter. "Because thou hast aspired to the crown by the death of thy brother, whom thy mother hath murdered, therefore hear the word of the Lord," cried the indignant old man ; "the sword shall not depart from thine house, but shall furiously rage, all the days of thy life, killing thy seed, until such time as thy kingdom shall be given to a people whose customs and language the nation thou governest know not, neither shall thy sin, the sin of thy mother, and the sins of those men who were partakers of her counsels and executors of her wicked designs, be expiated, but by a long and most severe vengeance." This was not the first Coronation at which Dunstan had championed the cause of morality with a fiery zeal. Churchmen had been scandalised by the marriage of King Edwy the Fair within the prohibited degrees. The latter at his coronation unhappily caused still further offence by retiring at an early hour from the scene of the Banquet. Dunstan was accordingly sent to recall him. He found the King enjoying the society of his wife, Ethelgiva, while the crown was actually lying upon the ground. A scene of mutual recrimination followed, Dunstan even endeavouring to force the crown once more upon the King's head,

The Coronation of Henry III. The King is here represented bearing in his left hand a model of Westminster Abbey, of which he was one of the founders

and to drag him from his seat. For the moment victory rested with Edwy, who promptly deprived the ecclesiastic of all his offices, and sentenced him to banishment. The latter, however, was not a man to surrender tamely; as the fearful vengeance he ultimately wreaked upon both Edwy and Ethelgiva abundantly testifies.

About a century later, Harold II. ascended the throne, under circumstances hardly less sinister in character. The story is well known. We can almost picture the rugged, impetuous earl, rushing into the death-chamber of the saintly Edward, with a noisy band of followers at his heels, on that memorable eve of the Epiphany. "Ye know full well, my lords," replied the dying King, with all the strength he could command, "that I have bequeathed my kingdom to the Duke of Normandy, and are there not those *here* whose oaths have been given to secure his succession?" The earl, refusing to abate one iota of his determination, advanced to the bedside. "Harold, take it, if such be thy wish," was the answer, "but the gift will be thy ruin. Against the duke and his baronage no power can avail thee"; and the soul of the Confessor passed into the realms of darkness, with the words of Harold's last, disdainful boast, ringing in his ears.

The prophecy was true to the very letter, and in a very few months time, the people of England had been forced to bow themselves before the yoke of the Norman stranger; while King Harold himself lay, weltering in his own blood, upon the stricken battlefield of Senlac.

The ghastly, national tragedy at Westminister which ushered in the rule of the Conqueror has been

already described elsewhere ; while the coronations of his two sons display no specially prominent feature of interest, save perhaps the strange, and almost indecent haste, with which the younger of the two seized upon the reins of power.

With the coronation of Stephen, there appears, however, a large batch of those extraordinary incidents, so frequent at some of our coronations, which would seem to be almost a presage of coming evil. At this ceremony, which was performed on midwinter day, no abbots, and scarcely any of the nobility, presented themselves in the Abbey, to support their new Sovereign. William de Corbeuil, who officiated as Primate, must have had no little difficulty, in lulling his perjured conscience to rest ; seeing that he had already tendered his oath of allegiance to the Empress Maude. Within a year, he was himself summoned to his last account ; and all the magnates, who had assisted him in the performance of the ceremony, came to a miserable end. The kiss of peace was forgotten ; while, at the Eucharist, the sacred Host, in some strange, inexplicable manner, disappeared. As if he had not received sufficient warnings at his coronation, Stephen then proceeded deliberately to court disaster by wearing his crown one Christmas Day, within the walls of Lincoln Minster—an act which, according to tradition, could hardly fail to bring condign punishment in its train !

At the coronation of Richard I., our existing office first makes its appearance, in all its entirety. The Oath, the supporter-Bishops of Durham and Bath and Wells, the state Swords, and a host of other features less important, perhaps, in themselves, though none the less familiar to men's minds in the

present age, were witnessed for the first time. The coronation day was marred, however, by certain disquieting events; and by one terrible stain. "In the middle and bright part of the day," a number of the spectators beheld a bat, darting hither and thither through the church, "inconveniently circling in the same tracks, and especially round the King's throne." At the hour of Compline, too, when the monks of Westminster, tired out with the excitement and responsibilities of the coronation, were looking forward to their well-earned repose, they were startled out of their wits, by a peal of bells, which suddenly resounded from the Tower of the Abbey Church, without the very smallest agreement or knowledge, on the part of its chief officers!

All of this was trivial, however, by comparison with the horrible massacre, which has left so deep a stain upon Richard's coronation. In consequence of the bitter antipathy felt towards the Jews by the nation generally, a proclamation was issued forbidding any member of this hated race to appear before the royal presence. Curiosity, unfortunately, gained the advantage over prudence, and some of the leading Jews were recognised at the coronation Banquet. Straightway, their English foes succumbed to a curious mixture of uncontrollable panic, together with a desire for revenge. In the fearfully dramatic language of Richard of Devizes; "in that solemn hour, in which the Son was immolated to the Father a sacrifice of the Jews to their father the devil was commenced in the City of London; and so long was the duration of the famous mystery, that the holocaust could hardly be accomplished on the ensuing day." The King did what little he could

to stem the tide of persecution; but the movement spread right over the face of the land; and a number of other cities, York in particular, "emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with a like devotion,

The Coronation of Edward I. by Archbishop Kilwarby

despatched their blood-suckers with blood to hell!"

One of the most unedifying and even contemptible of English coronations was that of King John. This monarch actually declined to partake of the Blessed Sacrament, hurrying off from the Abbey with what speed he could; while throughout the

entire service, he was shaking with laughter from head to foot. Normandy being at that moment still an appendage of the English crown, it was necessary in consequence to bestow upon the King the investiture of that Duchy. This was effected, by the placing of a spear in his hands. John's untimely mirth showed, however, no signs of abating, at this point, with the result that he allowed the spear to drop from his feeble grasp. Barely six years later, a deadly blow was given to the Continental power of this country. The English line of Norman Dukes came to an abrupt termination; and King John found himself despoiled of the fair duchy, whose symbol he had treated with such unjustifiable contempt. The loss of Normandy has left, however, a permanent impress upon the coronation ceremonial. As a reward for their gallantry in assisting the King in his hopeless struggle to retain it, the Barons of the Cinque Ports received at this period the privilege of bearing the canopy above their Sovereign on his way to the Abbey—a right which continued absolutely unimpaired down to the coronation of William IV.

Two coronations only marked the passage of the thirteenth century, neither of them being specially noteworthy instances of our national ceremony, in so far as the magnificence or picturesqueness of the details handed down to us are concerned. Henry III. was compelled to undergo a double inauguration, as it were, first of all at Gloucester, with somewhat maimed ceremonial; and subsequently at Westminster, four years later, in full state. The evil deeds of his father, were mainly responsible for the first mentioned irregularity; for, at the time of Henry's accession, the French, attracted to our

shores by the political collapse, which terminated the reign of John, had overrun a large portion of the country, and the Abbey was at that moment, in the hands of Louis, the Dauphin. The incompleteness of the rite, as solemnized at Gloucester, weighed somewhat heavily upon the conscience of the pious King; hence, he was crowned once again, on this second occasion by Stephen Langton, "to the end it might be said, that now after the extinguishment of all seditious factions, he was crowned by the generall consent of all the estates, and subjects of his realm."

The lengthy interval between the accession and the coronation of a new monarch—a custom, which is accepted to-day as a mere matter of course—finds no counterpart in the history of the Middle Ages. The coronation of Edward I. is the one solitary exception. It was caused, in this case, by the absence of the Crusader King in the Holy Land. For the first time, too, was the new Sovereign associated with his consort in the act of coronation. Possibly this fact, coupled with the presence of Alexander III., King of Scotland, for the purpose of rendering homage to his suzerain, may account for the lavish expenditure, which characterised this ceremony. Three hundred and eighty head of cattle, four hundred and thirty sheep, four hundred and fifty pigs, eighteen wild boars, two hundred and seventy-five flitches of bacon, and nearly twenty thousand capons and fowls, were requisitioned for the entertainment of the Peers by his Majesty in Westminster Hall; while five hundred horses, two of which had actually carried Edward and his brother, were let loose among the crowd.

The first occasion upon which the new Chair of King Edward finds a place in the ceremonial, should without doubt have been signalized, as a coronation brilliant and epoch-making to a degree. From that day forward, however, the hapless and unworthy Edward II. found himself surrounded with every variety of difficulty. Huge offence was given at the very outset by the prominence assigned to Woodlock, Bishop of Winchester, who performed the ceremony in the absence of Archbishop Winchelsey, and above all, to Piers Gaveston, Edward's low-born favourite, both of whom had been among the bitterest opponents of the great monarch, who lay sleeping hard by in his unfinished tomb. "None was neere to Peirs in bravery of apparell or delecacie of fashion; which (and for that the King gave him S. Edward's crowne to carry in that pomp), greatlie encreased the offence of the lords against him."

Incidents of evil omen, too, were by no means lacking. The entire ceremonial, by reason, apparently, of Gaveston's incompetence or negligence, was one huge mass of disorder. The service in the Abbey was protracted to a most inordinate length; till the wrath of the hungry barons was only equalled by the extent of their appetite. When at length the Hall was reached, they found but a sorry repast awaiting them. The cooking was execrable, and the manner of serving it no less open to criticism. The Queen was slighted in the most outrageous fashion; and the general result of this ill-omened coronation consisted in the sowing of seeds of enmity, which even time itself proved powerless to heal.

The coronation of Edward III. (whose Shield and

Coronation of a King, presumably Richard II.

(*From the Liber Regalis*)

Sword of State, battered and almost decayed, may still be viewed in the Abbey) displays a remarkable paucity in the shape of written records. Scarcely any particulars have descended to us, save a short notice of the sermon, which was delivered by the Primate himself, a somewhat unusual proceeding. Selecting a text, generally associated with ideas of a somewhat advanced type, and scarcely acceptable to a mail-clad Plantagenet—"vox populi, vox Dei"—Archbishop Reynolds exhorted the assembled people to uplift their prayers, on behalf of the King, whom they had themselves selected for the office.

This display of remissness on the part of the early fourteenth century historians was fully atoned for by their successors, at the coronation of Edward III.'s unfortunate grandson. Rarely has a ceremony been described in fuller detail. Richard II. was above all English monarchs a Westminster King. The great northern entrance of the Abbey rose with renewed beauty during his reign. He himself adopted the arms of the Confessor for whom he ever expressed the utmost reverence. In the Abbey his marriage was solemnised; and here, too, with bitter tears he laid his beloved Anne to rest, in the noble tomb which he now occupies with her.

The "Liber Regalis," upon which the existing ceremonial of the coronation is based, was drawn up for this occasion, by Abbot Litlington, and still remains among the honoured treasures of the Abbey muniment-room. The splendid Royal Progress through the City; the large body of newly created Knights of the Bath; the quaint ceremony of the Royal Champion (all of which are recorded for the first time); the profusion of the coronation

The Coronation of a Queen, presumably Anne of Bohemia

(*From the Liber Regalis*)

feast, when from the feet of a golden eagle in Palace Yard, there literally spouted several different kinds of wine; combined, one and all, to confer a lustre upon this grand ceremony, which has caused it to loom large in the annals of English coronations.

And yet, there was more than one prognostic of evil, which seemed to point to the melancholy termination of a reign commenced under circumstances of such surpassing brilliancy. Brenton, Bishop of Rochester, delivered a pregnant warning in the course of his sermon, against the dangerous policy of over-taxation; while, at the conclusion of the service, Richard himself fainted clean away, and had to be carried out on the shoulders of his knights!

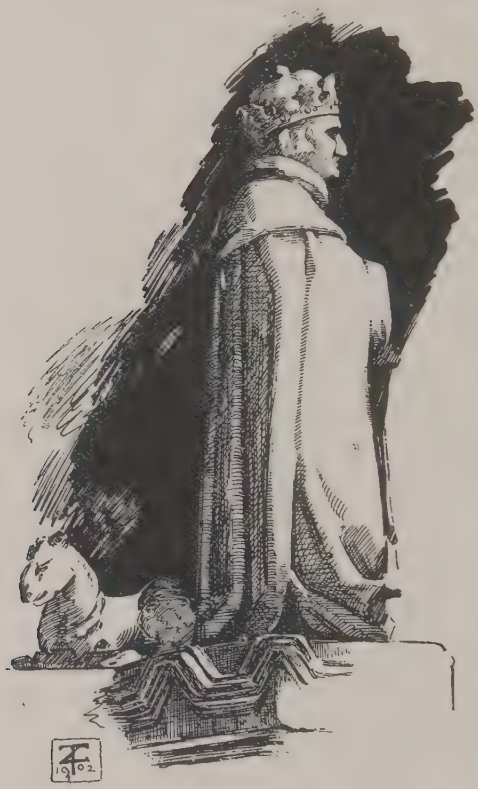
Of the three Lancastrian coronations, that of the founder of the new dynasty was by far the most memorable. The stone of Scone was, for the first time, distinctly specified as figuring in the ceremony; and, even more important, the vessel of Sacred Oil, the heavenly origin of which has already been described, was first employed at the "inoiling" of Earl Harry of Bolingbroke.

Terrific thunderstorms—a remarkable presage of his stormy and militant reign—distinguished the coronation of Henry V., while the melancholy demeanour of his son some nine years later, as he sat upon his throne—mere child that he was—"beholdynge the people all aboute sadly and wisely"; filled not a few loyal hearts with anxiety and apprehension. The coronation Banquet of the former King has been described by Thomas de Elmham, as "a second feast of Ahasuerus," in its general profusion. Added to this, a large portion of

the nobility mounted on their chargers, were placed along the side of the tables in Westminster Hall—a feature, which must have added enormously to the picturesqueness of the scene.

The coronation of Edward IV. resembles that of his immediate predecessor of the same name, in the scanty knowledge we possess as to its general details; while his successor, alone of English monarchs passed to his grave, "uncrowned, without sceptre or ball." Richard III. endeavoured to stifle the voice of scandal, by a ceremony, which must have almost rivalled that of a century earlier in the lavish splendour, then witnessed by the citizens of London. Still, it was impossible, wholly to veil the remembrance of the mysterious and brutal events, by means of which the Duke of Gloucester had come to stand, that day, in the foremost position of the realm. Once more was a King of England, anointed and crowned by the hands of a perjured Primate; for Cardinal Bourchier, only three short weeks previously, had pledged "his own body and soul," for the safety of the little Duke of York, when he was dragged away from his mother's arms, in the Sanctuary of the Abbey. The monks of Westminster, too, found it a difficult matter to muster up any enthusiasm for a monarch, who had ascended the throne under such mysterious and ill-omened auspices; for, they "sang the Te Deum with a faint courage" only! Still more unhappy was the manifest distrust displayed by the new King of his subjects, "for fear of the Queene's blood." Stringent regulations were issued with reference to the harbouring of strangers within the limits of the City. Above all, no less than

five thousand "gentlemen of the north," were requisitioned to act as the King's body-guard, whom certain writers have described as "evil apparelled



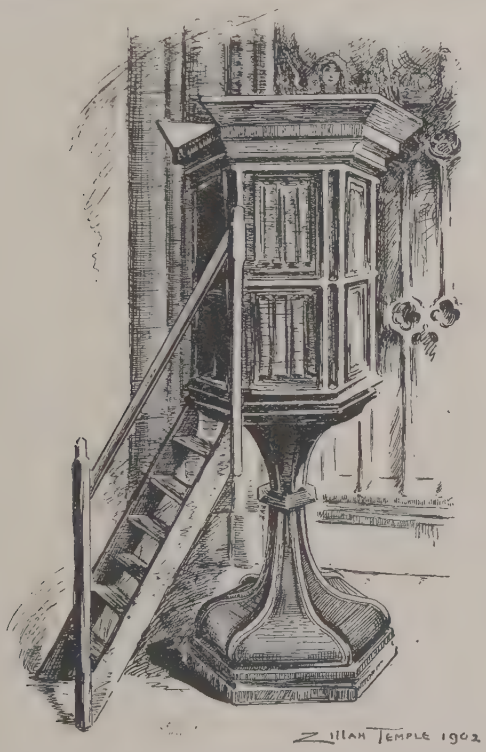
Henry VII. in his Coronation Robes

(From the Stall Work in his Chapel in Westminster Abbey)

and worse harnessed, which when mustered, were the contempt of the beholders."

This coronation also witnessed one of the

insoluble mysteries of English history. It would seem, strangely enough, that every preparation was made for the unfortunate Edward V. to attend the ceremony. In the coronation Roll there appears



Pulpit from which Archbishop Cranmer preached at the Coronation of Edward VI.

a distinct record of his "apparel and array" consisting of "a short gowne made of two yards and three quarters of crymsyn clothe of gold, lined with two yards and three quarters of blue velvet and a long gowne, made of six yards of crymsyn cloth of gold,

lynned with six yards of greene damask; a shorte gowne made of two yards and three quarters of purpell velvet." It is difficult to believe that these magnificent robes were manufactured for absolutely no purpose whatsoever, while it is scarcely easier to suppose that the young King was actually present in person at the "hallowing" of his usurper uncle!

The records of the coronations of the Tudors reveal few events of a specially remarkable nature, save the splendour of the royal Progresses from the Tower to Westminster, which in the sixteenth century attained the climax of their grandeur. The Yeomen of the Guard, however, were first seen surrounding the royal person, at the coronation of Henry VII., by way of protecting, perchance, his somewhat shaky title. Henry VIII's coronation, though not characterized by any specially outstanding features, was an occasion of magnificent and lavish display. Innovations of the most unsatisfactory and unpardonable description took place at the coronation of his son. The service was abridged, nominally by reason of the King's tender age; in reality, because many of the ceremonies were calculated to win but slender favour from the Protestant zealots, who had just reached the head of affairs. An invasion of popular rights, altogether unpardonable in character, took place at the ceremony of the Recognition, which was altered by Archbishop Cranmer, from an act of election, or definite consent on the part of the people of the land to the assumption of the Crown by the new King, into a mere assent to his "consecration, enunction and coronation." Still, in spite of this outrageous innovation, we feel almost inclined to forgive the Archbishop his share in the perpetration

of it, when we read the bold and fearless language of his "address," the bravest sermon, surely, ever heard within the walls of the Abbey!

Curious parallels are found in the coronations of the two Tudor Queens. Both expressed their grave dissatisfaction with the oil provided: Elizabeth, on account of its unpleasant smell; Mary for fear that it might have undergone pollution at the coronation of Protestant Edward. Not even the fact that it was generally supposed to be the identical oil of the ancient legend, succeeded in overcoming the latter Queen's repugnance. Nothing, save an entirely new supply furnished by the Imperial Ambassador, and consecrated by the Bishop of Arras, could satisfy the extreme scrupulosity of her morbid conscience. Then again the traditional rights of the Metropolitical See of Canterbury were deliberately set aside in Mary's case "without any express right or precedent," in the substitution of Gardiner for Cranmer. Five years later, there occurred an almost equally glaring defiance of tradition in the calm manner with which the unfortunate Oglethorpe arrayed himself in Bonner's robes, and proceeded to crown Elizabeth, without the actual support of one single member of his episcopal brethren, though a few may possibly have been present as witnesses.

It was noted by the curious at the former of these two coronations, that the Queen could scarcely endure the weight of her headgear, with the result that she was obliged to support her head with her hand. Added to this, there was yet another event of ill omen, this time during the Homage, where each one of the nobles held his hands together "in manner of lamenting!"

The first "reformed" coronation, which should have been so splendid a function, terminated in a dismal failure by reason of the plague, which was then at its height. Few coronations have bequeathed such trifling memorials to posterity, whether literary or artistic, as that of James I., for this same reason, no doubt.

Allusion has already been made to some of the extraordinary incidents, which cast so sombre a shadow over the coronation of Charles I., but half the tale remains as yet untold; indeed, the story is one calculated to make most sovereigns shiver. The air was thick with sounds of strife. In the Palace, a battle royal was in progress; for, Henrietta Maria stubbornly refused to be associated with her husband at the coronation; or even to lend her presence to the ceremony. She, therefore, contented herself with taking up her position at the Palace gate to watch the Procession; her ladies, all the time, "frisking and dancing about the room."

Over the way, in the Abbey Church, a still more unhappy state of things prevailed. Lord Keeper Williams, the Dean, was in disgrace with the Court, and at enmity with Laud, the most important member of the Chapter, and his own detested rival. Ultimately, to his intense chagrin, he was compelled to surrender his rightful place to that very rival.

The sceptre with the dove—the emblem of the peaceful days of the Confessor—was found to be broken—at least, an accident had befallen the left wing of the dove. The king summoned his goldsmith, insisted on the damage being made good without any mark of token of the accident remaining visible. The latter stated that this was impossible.

(*Wright, photographer, London*)

William III. and Mary II. in their Purple Robes of State

(*From the Wax Effigies in Westminster Abbey*)

"If you will not do it another shall," came the angry reply from the King. Accordingly, the goldsmith caused an entirely new dove to be substituted—an unauthorised piece of workmanship, which Charles, however, failed to discover. This was the first act of damage, recorded as having befallen the ancient Regalia of England.

Every arrangement had been made for receiving the King at Sir Robert Cotton's stairs, when he arrived in the royal barge at Westminster. By some mischance, the barge, missed the steps on which all the carpets lay ready prepared, and ran aground in the mud at the bottom of the Parliament stairs, with the result that the King and his nobles had to land with such dignity as they could muster, aided by certain neigbouring boats.

Recognition and Unction, as already remarked, were both attended with unfortunate and ill-omened circumstances at this Coronation, while the sermon was scarcely more happy. Dr. Senhouse, the Bishop of Carlisle, occupied the pulpit, and delivered an oration, based on the text, "I will give thee a crown of life"; which might have been employed with almost equal appropriateness at the King's funeral. To the Bishop himself it was a veritable funeral sermon, for he died only a short time later, from the terrible complaint known as black jaundice—"a disease which hangs the face with mourning as against its burial." Last of all, a rude shock of earthquake took place, during the actual ceremony, of such violence that all persons in the immediate neighbourhood of the Abbey were terrified out of their senses, including the celebrated Baxter, then a boy at Westminster School.

The "hallowing" of Charles I. in white vestments

imparted an element of grave foreboding to many minds, as already remarked. A curious repetition of this unfortunate passage in his history occurred not only in the martyrdom of the "White King" before his own Palace at "Whitehall," but also, at his funeral in S. George's Chapel, Windsor. On that mournful February morning, the sky, up to that moment perfectly clear, suddenly changed the moment the body was brought forth from the castle. Down came the snow in thick flakes, till, in the short distance which intervened ere the Chapel itself was reached, the black velvet pall was literally covered all over with pure, white snow. "Thus went the White King to his grave!"

The reaction which naturally resulted with the accession of Charles II. found expression in a coronation performed according to Clarendon "with the greatest solemnity and glory that ever any had been seen in that kingdom." Still, even this ceremony was not lacking in somewhat disquieting events. A fierce tussle took place in Westminster Hall, between the Barons of the Cinque Ports and the royal footmen for the possession of the canopy, as well as other disputes for precedence, to say nothing of the fierce thunderstorm, with which the proceedings ended.

The coronation of James II. was scarcely less prolific both in the number and character of alarming events, than that of his father. To satisfy his own Romanist scruples, the king compelled Archbishop Sancroft to mutilate the order of service in a manner that must have been deeply galling to that high-minded prelate. To the disappointment of all concerned, the Royal Progress from the Tower was

dropped for motives of economy; while twice the amount of its cost was employed in bedecking Queen Mary of Modena with trinkets—a doubtful proceeding so far as the royal popularity was concerned, even though the magnificent jewels caused the Queen to "shine like an angel."

Some of the strangest and most weird incidents ever known in the history of English coronations befell James II. on this eventful day. Almost at the very moment when the Archbishop placed S. Edward's Crown upon the King's head, the Royal Standard floating from the White Tower, was rent asunder. On the self-same day, a representation of the Royal Arms fell from the windows of a leading London church. Then again, the crown appeared to be bewitched, as soon as it was placed upon James' head. Nothing would induce it to remain there firmly. "It appeared always on the point of falling and it required some care to hold it steady;" to quote the poor Queen-Consort; "there was a presage that struck us, and every one who observed it." Henry Sidney, as Keeper of the Robes, volunteered to hold it up, with the hypocritical remark, "This is not the first time our family has supported the crown." He was at that very moment engaged in a treasonable communication with the Prince of Orange!

The Banquet, too, was the scene of yet another and still more disquieting event, in which Champion Dymoke was unfortunate enough to play the part of chief performer. When about to salute his Sovereign, he completely collapsed and rolled upon the floor to the consternation of the terrified Queen, though the incident was laughed off by James himself!

George III. and Queen Charlotte crowned and seated upon their Chairs of State

The next coronation is, and in all probability will for ever remain, absolutely unique in the annals of English history. The tall queen and the short king walked side by side as joint sovereigns, beneath the same canopy, and with the Sword of State borne between them. Two of the chief symbols of sovereignty—the orb and the chair—had to be duplicated ; additional ones being constructed for Mary as Queen-Regnant of England. A noble sermon was preached by Bishop Burnet ; and the ceremony of presenting the Holy Bible was placed in a position of great prominence, to remain a permanent feature of the Order of Service.

To the delight of the Jacobites, the day was not without its clouds. Just as the Procession was about to leave the Hall, there arrived the alarming tidings that James had landed in Ireland. To make matters still worse, a letter was delivered at the same moment by Lord Nottingham to the Queen—the first she had received from her father since her actual accession. The contents were enough to blanch the cheek and to bend the spirit of the bravest man, let alone a woman. These evil tidings delayed the ceremony a full two and a half hours ; but in the end the undutiful daughter pressed on, nothing daunted. It is scarcely possible to avoid speculating what her feelings must have been, when a few years later, she lay stretched upon her death-bed, stricken with all the horror and agony of a fell disease !

When the Abbey was at length reached, William found to his annoyance that his purse had been stolen, while hanging at his side. Had it not been for the timely aid of twenty guineas, conveniently supplied by Lord Danby, his Majesty would have

been placed at the time of the Offering in a position, at once grotesque and ignominious. Great offence, too, was caused by the exclusion of the Commons from any specific seats at the Banquet; while some merriment was created by the report that the Champion's glove had been carried off in the darkness by an old woman on crutches!

The next three coronations may be rapidly passed over. The first was rendered notable by the infirmity of the Queen, who, though barely thirty-seven years of age, was almost paralysed by reason of her gout and excessive corpulence; so much so, that she had to be carried in a low arm-chair, and was only hoisted up the steps of the "theatre" and the throne, by dint of a large expenditure of breath!

This coronation must indeed have been a day to be marked with a white stone for ever after, in the eyes of a certain portion of the populace. These good folk took upon themselves to enter Westminster Hall unbeknown, after the ceremony was over, and there they appropriated for their own special and exclusive purposes the rich store of plate and table-linen, which awaited their onset!

George I.'s coronation was distinguished by a magnificent ceremonial; but the chief performers found the carrying out of its multitudinous details no light matter, by reason of the fact that they could only communicate with the king, and he with them, through the medium of the best Latin they could command at this uncommonly brief notice! A general sense of stiffness and uneasiness also pervaded the ceremony, caused by the soreness, none the less bitter for being concealed, which was felt

by Atterbury, Bolingbroke, and the rest of their Jacobite following.

The coronation of George III.—the first English monarch whom the people had beheld for nearly half a century—was characterised by a wonderful display of enthusiasm. The whole of London held high revel that day, in honour of the young King and his Consort. Seats were sold for prices altogether without precedent, while thousands of persons spent the whole of the previous night in the open air.

With regard to the ceremony itself, however, it can only be described as one delicious muddle from beginning to end. Never was the English mind, with all its total incompetence to grasp details of ceremonial, displayed in such utter baldness and nakedness, as in the frantic efforts of the Deputy Earl-Marshal and the Lord Great Chamberlain. A strike of workmen, at the outset, nearly put an end to all the contemplated arrangements. This difficulty was surmounted, but no sooner had the eventful morning dawned, than the authorities realised that they had clean forgotten the Sword of State, and the canopy. The Lord Mayor gallantly made good the first-named defect, but the canopy was a different matter, and the starting of the Procession was delayed consequently until noon. Two points at once arrest our attention with reference to the service in the Abbey. One of these was the remarkable, and probably unique fact that George III. received S. Edward's crown from the hands of Archbishop Secker—the same prelate who had already baptized, confirmed, and married him.

More than once has the coronation sermon partaken of the nature of a prophecy. That of

William IV. and Queen Adelaide leaving Westminster Abbey after the Proclamation of the King's Style by Garter King at Arms

George III. is a case in point, for the Bishop of Salisbury, actually alluded to the extraordinary number of years, during which the king occupied the throne! Although the said discourse barely lasted a quarter of an hour; still, the remainder of the ceremonies in the Abbey conducted, as they were, on lines of general incompetency, fully equal to that displayed elsewhere, extended to a period of no less than six hours. Being the latter end of September, the Procession was compelled to make its return journey in a dusky twilight, which rendered all surrounding objects dim and indistinct. The Hall was enveloped in almost complete darkness; and, as it was not lit up until the arrival of the royal pair; the main body of the Procession entered in a manner by no means dignified, the nodding plumes of the Knights of the Bath conveying to many minds a very forcible suggestion of a funeral and hearse!

The Banquet, however, was the climax. Furious altercations now ensued between Lord Talbot, the Lord High Steward, whose state by this time must have been bordering on frenzy, and the Barons of the Cinque Ports, the Knights of the Bath, and the citizens of London. These three sets of functionaries on entering the Hall, ready to do full justice to the good cheer awaiting them, found that they had been shamefully ousted from their places, in defiance of all ancient precedent. The Aldermen indeed, with characteristic regard for the needs of the inner man, were fully equal to this emergency; and by dint of many hard words, and not a few bullying threats, they forced Lord Talbot to admit them a place far above their own proper rank. The Knights of the Bath received the cold

consolation of a lonely dinner in the Court of Requests; in spite of Sir William Stanhope's sorrowful remonstrance: "We are ill treated, for *some of us* are gentlemen." The Barons of the Cinque Ports, however, received from the chief authority the most pungent of welcomes. "If you speak to me as High Steward," cried that functionary, "I must tell you there was no room for you; if as Lord Talbot I am ready to give you satisfaction in any way you think fit."

The same officer created wild shrieks of laughter by reason of his generally awkward and ungainly manœuvres. "He had twenty *démêlés*, and came out of none creditably!" remarked the critical Walpole. He had carefully practised his steed in the act of *backing* out of the hall; in order that his own back might not be turned upon the Royal table. Unfortunately, the horse proceeded to put so exceedingly literal a construction upon its rider's directions, that it persisted in actually entering the Hall hind-quarters foremost! Much merriment was caused by this *faux pas* among the spectators, so much so that they applauded with no little vigour, "a terrible indecorum; but suitable to such Bartholomew Fair doings!"

Altogether Lord Talbot and his equally unhappy colleague, the Earl of Effingham, the Deputy Earl Marshal, cut a pretty figure between them. Nothing could possibly have exceeded the superlative good nature, with which the young King endured such scandalous mismanagement. At last, somewhat ruffled, he complained to Lord Effingham. The latter only succeeded, however, in rendering confusion worse confounded by his blundering reply:—"It is true, sir, that there has been some neglect; but I have

taken care that the *next* coronation shall be regulated in the exactest manner possible!" Two more incidents of a wholly different character are recorded of this coronation. The first took place at the reception of the Holy Communion by the King. A doubt crossed George's mind, as to the desirability of retaining his crown. He appealed to the Archbishop and Zachary Pearce, the Dean, and at length insisted on removing his crown before communicating—a custom which by this time has happily become stereotyped in the order of the service. The second event was far less pleasing. While the King was moving with the crown upon his brow, the large diamond it contained suddenly fell to the ground, and was only recovered with some difficulty. When our country suffered the irreparable loss of America, barely a score of years later, this incident was called to mind by not a few persons—as being a grim and dismal forerunner of that most melancholy and disgraceful chapter in our history.

Sixty years later, when people had well-nigh forgotten that such a custom as a coronation existed, an attempt was made to rival even that of Richard II. in general pomp and splendour. The arrangements were conducted with a wholesale disregard of expense; indeed, some £238,000 of the public money was thus employed in order to throw dust, as the King hoped, in the eyes of his subjects; at an hour when the miserable relations between himself and his Consort had divided the country into two hostile camps. Every possible ancient custom, feudal or other, was revived. The King himself spent hours and hours upon the discussion of his own official robes; and when at length they had left the hands

Queen Victoria receiving the Blessed Sacrament after her Coronation

of the tailor, he actually arrayed one of his hirelings in them, and ordered him to strut about the room for his own special edification, that he might behold the general effect!

The temperature of the Abbey was positively stifling, so much so that the King, who had shown early and manifest signs of fatigue, well nigh collapsed; and was only revived by the bottle of smelling-salts which happened, quite providentially, to be in the hands of Mr. Christopher Sutton, the Archbishop's secretary. As time went on, the heat became more and more insupportable; till the King, unable to endure it any longer, made his way to the Confessor's Chapel, where he was found divested of the bulk of his robes, in a vain endeavour to cool his burning limbs.

At last, the ceremony of the Homage was reached, and the portly monarch was duly ensconced in his throne. The lengthy stream of Peers commenced, towards each of whom the King manifested the most visible tokens of pleasure or disgust, as the case might be. All the while he steadily mopped his streaming brow with a succession of pocket handkerchiefs, each of which was thrust in turn, into the unwilling hands of Archbishop Manners Sutton while he stood by his side.

The Banquet was in all respects a vast improvement on that of the preceding coronation. One incident alone seems to have marred its general effectiveness; namely, the indecent anxiety of the Aldermen of London to secure the good cheer awaiting them, which caused them to break the line of the Procession and to carry one of the tables by storm!

Still, the strained and painful feelings of the

general public could not be altogether removed, even by so gorgeous a pageant as that of George IV.'s coronation. "Every one went in the morning with uncomfortable feelings of fear and dread." Most unfortunately, the Queen resolved to force her way into the Abbey. Attended by the ever faithful Lord Hood, she made her way to the East Cloister Door of the Abbey only to be repulsed, amid the cowardly hisses of the bystanders. A second attempt, this time through the Poet's Corner entrance, met with no better success, being foiled by the tact and address displayed by Sir Robert Inglis. Then at length she bowed to the inevitable, and returned to her carriage, crushed and dejected; her pride no longer able to restrain the bitter tears. The end was close at hand, for her heart was broken; and after the lapse of only a few weeks, her poor remains were carried through the crowded streets to their last resting-place at Brunswick.

Of the coronation of William IV., the less said the better. The cry of Reform was in the air, and the spirit of economy succeeded in carrying the day. Ancient precedents were therefore flouted, old historical landmarks were removed, until the grand national pageant of the Plantagenets and Tudors was reduced to a mere feeble shadow. The laudable attempt to please the nation, by reducing expenditure, ended in an utter fiasco, and the "half-crownation," as this ceremony was contemptuously styled, has always been regarded as one of the tamest events in our history.

Many accounts have descended to us of that memorable twenty-eighth day of June, sixty-four years ago. None, however, have described the scene with

such wonderful simplicity, such infinite pathos, and yet with such matchless eloquence, as the great Dean of Westminster, whose words we have already quoted more than once. Those who witnessed that great event "will long remember," he said, "the early summer morning when, at break of day, the streets were thronged, and the whole capital awake; the first sight of the Abbey, crowded with the mass of gorgeous spectators, themselves a pageant; the electric shock through the whole mass, when the first gun announced that the Queen was on her way, and the thrill of expectation, with which the iron rails seemed to tremble in the hands of the spectators, as the long procession closed with the entrance of the small figure, marked out from all beside by the regal train and attendants, floating like a crimson and silvery cloud behind her. At the moment when she first came within the full view of the Abbey, and paused, as if for breath, with clasped hands, as she moved on to her place by the Altar, as in the deep silence of the vast multitude, the tremulous voice of Archbishop Howley could be faintly heard, even to the remotest corners of the Choir, asking for recognition, as she sate immovable on the throne when the crown touched her head, amidst shout and trumpet and the roar of cannon, there must have been many who felt a hope that the loyalty which had waxed cold in the preceding reigns would once more revive, in a more serious form, than it had perhaps ever worn before."

With what better thought can we conclude than with the remembrance of our beloved Empress-Mother, Victoria the Good—whose life will, for our own and future generations, in all probability

wield an influence more potent, more full of inspiration than any of those which have gone before. And for him, who will shortly be seated upon the "Fateful Stone," there to undergo the solemn consecration, unction, and coronation of his fathers before him, God grant that his reign may be long and prosperous, that his throne may be established in righteousness, and "that it may stand fast for evermore, like as the sun before Him, and as the faithful witness in Heaven."

Photo by *Mills, London.*

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII

From a Statue by George Wade

PART II

THE SACRING OF EDWARD VII

MIDSUMMER DAY

In a famous sermon preached at the time of the birth of the young Princess Victoria, Sydney Smith, at that time the chief ornament of the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral, permitted himself the expression of a hope which, viewed in the light of after events, can be termed none other than prophetic. The sentiment of loyalty had long since died down in the land. By the close of the second decade of the nineteenth century, it had sunk to the level of an anachronism, nay rather, it had ceased altogether to exist. Was it conceivable, asked the eloquent Canon, that in the person of this royal child the old passionate loyalty at one time so precious a characteristic of our English race, might once more find a resting place?

The coronations of our Hanoverian sovereigns as

they successively followed one another had proved themselves to be mere masquerades—the form without the substance. "Pomp and circumstance were there," it is true, but stripped of all their inner meaning. Those coronations were splendid pageants at the most, while one at least of the first five was the occasion of severe and not unmerited criticism.

The youthful sovereign who was solemnly set apart for the service of God and man on that bright June morning in the summer of the year 1838 entered upon her life work under happier auspices than did her immediate predecessors, for a thrill of enthusiasm had swept over the nation at large. But, the omens of future ill were numerous. The forces of reform had been let loose. In the eyes of many, every throne in Europe seemed tottering to its fall. Would that of England prove any exception? Such was the question which was anxiously and eagerly being asked at that eventful time by the more thoughtful heads in the nation. The new Sovereign had yet to be proved of what temper she was. Those splendid qualities which ended by winning for her so mighty a name in the history of the world were known, if known at all, to but two or three at the most.

The case was far different at the time of the coronation of her son. The passion of loyalty which was so marked a feature of the year 1902 was of no mere idealistic growth. To his own personal qualities which, in themselves, were calculated to win their way to the national heart, there was now super-added the tradition which had been won for him by his great mother after a reign which had extended over some sixty-three years of amazing

progress. The people at the beginning of the Twentieth Century had come to occupy an infinitely higher place than was the case sixty or seventy years previously. Hence, all the hereditary and traditional aspects of the rite of coronation which remained in their pristine splendour, now found themselves reinforced by a popular sanction of the ceremony, the like of which had, in all probability, never been witnessed since the Restoration of the Stuarts.

Once more, the great ceremony which took place at the Empire's heart in the summer of the year 1902, possessed a further quality all its own, with which none of its predecessors at Westminster could attempt to compete. For the first time in the history of our land did the Imperial idea blaze forth into prominence, as the sons and daughters of the Empire gathered themselves together from the ends of the earth to take their part. The archaic traditions of the Middle Ages were enlarged in their scope so as to include the modern splendours of a mighty Empire, while a democracy, free and unfettered, and withal intensely practical, united to proclaim the hereditary crown as the outward and visible sign of that Empire upon which the sun never sets.

Thus, the fervent but almost forlorn hope of Sydney Smith attained to its complete fulfilment some eighty-three years later, when Edward, seventh of the name, ascended the steps of the throne to fill the seat which his great mother had so long and so worthily occupied.

Such, in brief, were some of the feelings with which the minds, even of the least imaginative among

us, came to be inspired as the long looked for day drew near. None but the innermost circle of the most highly privileged in the land felt the least trace of misgiving. The representatives of our English race had assembled together from the Dominions. The metropolis was filled to overflowing. A sense of eager expectancy was in the air, and as the sun arose on the morn of the Festival of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, it seemed as though the glorious weather, which so invariably greeted Queen Victoria whenever she appeared among her subjects, was destined to shine no less upon her eldest son.

Within the grey old Abbey a scene of bustling animation met the eye, for the many hundreds appointed to sing or play at the solemn ceremony of the Sacring were gathering together in order that they might take part in the final rehearsal of the longest and most complicated religious rite known to the Anglican Communion. In the Sacrarium a number of persons were engaged in making ready for the events that were to follow. The huge choir were trooping into their places in the galleries assigned to them on either side of the organ. Massed together upon the choir screen, under the temporary conductorship of Sir Walter Parratt, was the King's Band, rehearsing some of the instrumental music. King Edward's Chair and the two Thrones stood in their places, awaiting the great ceremonial. Nothing remained save to add a few trifling, finishing touches, here and there. The whole scene was characterised by a sense of joyous, expectant bustle.

But, while the instrumentalists were engaged upon their task, one or two of the onlookers suddenly felt a cold chill at the heart. The group of

distinguished personages in the Sacrarium were seen to gather themselves together for no apparent reason into a little cluster of their own. That something was seriously and sadly wrong was only too apparent, for consternation was manifest upon every countenance.

The reason was not far to seek. The music came to an end. The Bishop of London stepped forward and made the stupendous announcement from a despatch which had just been brought up to the Abbey by a mounted messenger: "The Coronation will not take place. An operation is to be performed upon the King at twelve o'clock."

Such was the news which fell with stunning force upon those present. In another moment they had all fallen upon their knees. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, one of the two prelates who had been selected to sing the Litany at the Coronation Service, made his way to the fald-stool, standing at its appointed place, and commenced to chant the Church's great act of intercession, to the beautiful setting by Thomas Tallis, destined to be rendered, so all had fondly believed, under such very different circumstances. By this time a considerable number, probably quite half of the choir, were in their places, and the pathetic beauty of the music, as supplication after supplication went soaring up into the vaulted roof of the old Abbey, was beyond the power of any pen to describe. It told how the whole family of heaven and earth are one.

At last the Litany came to an end. All rose to their feet, and Dr. Watts' grand old hymn, such an inseparable accompaniment of the many functions which have been witnessed by the venerable walls of

the Abbey Church of St. Peter, was sung by those present with deep intensity of feeling :—

"O God, our help in ages past,
Our Hope for years to come,
Our Shelter from the stormy blast,
And our Eternal Home."

Have these words, so familiar to us all, ever been sung under circumstances so tragic ?

Then all once more fell upon their knees. The aged Dean came forward—a beautiful and venerable picture in his cassock and skull cap, and uplifting his hand, proceeded, with trembling accents, to pronounce the Benediction of the Church upon all present. A few words from Professor Sir Frederick Bridge, the Director of the music of the Coronation, to the Choir and Band, and then all, save a small group of persons, made their way out into the bright June sunlight with a weight upon their hearts such as they had never known before.

Such was Midsummer Day of the Year of Grace One Thousand Nine Hundred and Two. It has left an indelible mark upon the minds of all, old and young alike, who were present in the Abbey Church at that moment—one of the saddest and strangest in the whole of "our rough island story."

CORONATION DAY

Six weeks and two days passed away, and then to the amazement and delight of the Empire as a whole, the King once more appeared among his people, and was conducted to the old Abbey Church, there to undergo the ceremony of the Hallowing which it had been so sadly feared would never fall to the lot of

Edward VII. To the ordinary spectator he looked the very picture of health. That his life should have been dragged back from the very brink of the grave seemed a thing incredible. From that day forward it was manifest to all that the tie which united the Sovereign to the hearts of his subjects was of a more enduring, more sacred type than had ever existed before.

The very ceremonial of the Coronation seemed in a certain sense to emphasize this fact. As has been well pointed out by an acute observer, the Coronation of Edward VII was "essentially a domestic celebration of the British race." Many of the Envoys from foreign courts had been compelled by reason of the postponement of the ceremony to return. They had travelled in some cases from the four winds, in order that they might manifest their respect to the most ancient crown in Christendom. Those who were present on that memorable August day presented a marked diminution in numbers as compared with the wonderful group of foreign representatives which would have gathered together in Westminster Abbey in June. Only those connected by ties of blood with the reigning house of England appeared in their places. Hence, this remarkable domestic character of the whole rite, consecrated by the lively recollection of the heart-stirring crisis which King and people had so recently endured.

THE ABBEY AT EIGHT O'CLOCK

At a very early hour a goodly portion of those privileged to receive official invitations were duly seated in the Abbey. The interior of the building

had been prepared with the utmost care, and with no small amount of real taste. Some, at any rate of the barbarities which had disfigured the Hanoverian Coronations were removed. Not a few were present who could remember the Service in the year 1887, when the solemn commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated. On that occasion, and at a goodly number of the Coronations during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, the glorious east end of Henry III's choir was wantonly disfigured by the erection of galleries of the most unsightly description. The fact that a service of deep devotional significance was being rendered found no echo whatsoever in the general appointments of the Abbey. The Coronations of William IV and Victoria had represented the very nadir of bad management and worse taste. That of Edward VII displayed a most welcome return to an older and more seemly order of things. The gigantic galleries in which spectators (for they could hardly be termed worshippers) had been "skied" right up against the clerestory windows at imminent danger to their own nerves were gone. Save for the Royal box in which were accommodated the near relations of the King and Queen and two small galleries on the north and south respectively of the Sacrarium, there was not one single seat to the east of the crossing of the transepts.

In other respects the ancient features of the ceremony of the Sacring had been reproduced with scrupulous accuracy. The Chair of King Edward stood in front of the High Altar, though somewhat to the west of its position at previous Coronations. It was no longer marred by the costly

Photo by *Newton & Co.*

The Theatre and Sacrarium as they appeared a week after the Coronation of Edward VII.

and meretricious adornments with which in periods of degeneracy it had been enwrapped. Standing out there, the centre of the whole splendid scene, although its surface was worn and decayed, although the glorious paintings of "Walter of Durham," which in the olden days had rendered it so priceless a work of art, had long since perished, it told none the less to the assembled multitude a lesson infinitely more solemn and more impressive than could have been accomplished by any superficial decorations, however gorgeous.

On the north of the Sacrarium were placed the "forms" assigned for the use of the Episcopate, the chair of the Primate being situated as heretofore immediately to the north of the High Altar, while the sedilia, and indeed the whole of the south side of the Sacrarium, were destined to be filled up by the Dean and Canons of Westminster, the Earl Marshal, the Mistress of the Robes and the remainder of the great Officers of State.

The High Altar itself presented a spectacle of indescribable magnificence. The splendid candlesticks presented during the reign of Charles II by one Sarah Hughes, and the no less magnificent altar cross, the gift of the Earl of Rosebery in a later century, no longer stood in solitary grandeur. From end to end did the Altar blaze with a display of alms-dishes, flagons, patens, chalices. Nor was the lengthy tomb of Anne of Cleves, which serves the Abbey as a credence-table, one whit behind in the general sumptuousness of its decorations. Not a flower was to be seen. The respective Sacristies of Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal, had yielded up their wealth for the time being in order

to grace the solemnity of King Edward's Coronation,—and a marvellous display it was. Upon the amateur ritualist of the Nineteenth Century with his tailor-made vases, his feeble floral decorations, the scene bestowed a sorely needed lesson!

At the crossing of the transepts in the rectangular space formed by the four great marble piers, upon which is poised the Lantern, stood the platform designated from time immemorial in the Coronation Order as the "Theatre." In the centre placed upon a dais of five steps was the Throne or Chair of State of the King. To his left, upon a level two steps lower, was that of the Queen. In the south transept, away to the right, rose tier upon tier of seats filled from end to end by the Peers of the Realm arrayed in their traditional crimson and ermine. At their head, and nearest to the Royal Throne, were the three seats specially assigned to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, and the veteran Duke of Cambridge. Similarly, on the left-hand side of the Queen's Throne, in the north transept, were seated the Peeresses. But, perhaps, almost the most interesting, as it certainly was the most cosmopolitan portion of this remarkable assembly of personages, was to be found in the Choir. The members of the Collegiate body of Westminster Abbey had for the time being surrendered their accustomed seats, the Dean and Chapter being accommodated in the Sacrarium, and the singers in the two great galleries on either side of the organ, thus leaving a large amount of space which was naturally assigned to visitors and others, possessed of special dignity. The oak canopies erected, unfortunately, in the forties of last century

by William Blore—a poor and spiritless performance —had never in the sixty odd years of their history looked down upon so remarkable a body of people before. In the Dean's stall sat the First Commoner of England indicating by his position and the general dignity of his bearing the prominent position occupied to-day in our national life by the Estate of which he was the leading representative. Associated with Mr. Speaker were the representatives of the Established Church of Scotland, Cabinet and ex-Cabinet Ministers, Privy Councillors who had earned the esteem and the honour of their fellow-countrymen by distinguished service at home and abroad, Indian Rajahs in their curiously variegated costumes, while still further away to the east were seated the Diplomatic Corps and the representatives of the Courts of Europe. An onlooker on this great occasion would have beheld, even had he confined his gaze to the Choir only of the Abbey Church, an assembly of persons indicating, as would have been possible in no other way, the strength, the solidity and the diversity of the British Empire, in close conjunction with the pride and the majesty of alien but friendly Powers.

In the huge galleries uprising behind the Choir were the singers arrayed in white surplices, the Children of His Majesty's Chapel Royal, resplendent in their uniforms of scarlet and gold, adding a pleasing touch of variety to the scene. Away in every other direction the eye was arrested by a brilliant host of persons all arrayed in their costumes of office,—a scene of splendour and variety such as had never been known before in the history of the world.

Such in bare outline was Westminster Abbey at an early hour on the Coronation morn of our Seventh Edward.

THE PROCESSION OF THE REGALIA

Shortly before nine o'clock the preliminary portion of the ceremony of the Hallowing commenced. This was none other than the historic Procession of the Regalia which reappeared once more after having lain in desuetude for upwards of eighty years. At Coronation after Coronation right down to that of George IV had it been customary to bear these precious emblems of regality, as already described, from the Jerusalem Chamber, through the Abbey and across the road into Westminster Hall. The Regalia themselves were carried by the Dean and Chapter, escorted by the entire Collegiate body of their Church, to which were added the Sub-Dean and the Choir of the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace. The outdoor Procession which in olden days invariably preceded the actual service having been unfortunately dropped at the Coronation of William IV, there was no need to remove the Regalia from the Abbey to the Hall. Hence, the picturesque and popular Procession of the Regalia shared the same unhappy fate.

Thanks, however, to a distinguished member of the Chapter of Westminster, who subsequently became their honoured chief, a revival of this ceremony took place, the whole being somewhat adapted to meet the changed conditions which prevailed at the Coronation of Edward VII. The members of the Collegiate body were marshalled in the Abbot's Courtyard just outside the Jerusalem

Chamber, and from hence set forth through the grey old Cloisters from the walls of which there seemed to stream forth the history of five hundred changeful years. The Procession itself was witnessed in its entirety by few only, but it was an imposing and varied spectacle. First of all came the Dean's Beadle of Westminster bearing his massive mace, the Headmaster of Westminster School, the Master of the King's Scholars, and nearly the entire sixty of that favoured body wearing their surplices. Then followed a body of Trumpeters under the direction of Professor Sir Frederick Bridge who wore the resplendent robes of an Oxford Doctor of Music, the two Royal Choirs, the scarlet cassocks of the Abbey Choristers, and the picturesque uniform of the Children of the Chapel Royal, making a charming contrast to the white surplices and the grey walls. The Serjeant of the Vestry followed, immediately preceding the magnificent Abyssinian Cross presented to the Abbey Church but a few weeks previously by Ras Makonnen, as a votive offering on behalf of the sorely stricken King. The Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal wearing the crimson mantle of a Royal Chaplain came next, and to him succeeded the Abbey Clergy, each of them bearing one of the various pieces of the Regalia, the members of the Chapter wearing crimson copes. The Procession was closed by the two Bishops of Bath and Wells and Oxford, wearing white silk copes, and the Sub-Dean of Westminster, the Rev. Dr. Duckworth, carrying St. Edward's Crown, in the absence of the venerable Dean.

Through the Cloisters went the Procession towards the Vestibule of the Chapter House singing Martin

Luther's grand old German Chorale, "Rejoice to-day with one accord." Then, threading its way through the aisles of the south Transept, it reached the Ambulatory which encircles St. Edward's Shrine. The two Choirs took up their positions on the lengthy flight of steps leading into the Chapel of Henry VII, while the two Bishops proceeded to chant the Litany. The state of the King's health demanded a considerable abbreviation of the lengthy ceremonial, and a happy way of solving the difficulty, so far as the Litany was concerned, was found by removing it from its accustomed place in the Order of Service and combining it in this manner with the Procession of the Regalia. The scene from this point was wonderfully beautiful, with the two Bishops in their beautiful copes kneeling at a fald-stool placed somewhat to the east of the massive bronze doors of the Chapel, flanked on either side by a tall candlestick. Away still further to the east there stretched the famous Chapel with its gloriously carved stalls, and its wondrous roof of fan-tracery; and still further beyond the unique tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York.

Meanwhile, the bearers of the Regalia, preceded by the Processional Cross, were conducted into S. Edward's Chapel and through the Sacrarium of the Abbey. The Regalia were reverently deposited upon the High Altar by the Sub-Dean. The bearers retired once more into S. Edward's Chapel to stand in a long line in front of the newly restored Altar at the foot of the Confessor's Shrine, while the Right Reverend Bishop Welldon, to-day Dean of Manchester, and at that time a distinguished member of the Collegiate body of the Abbey, and representing

the episcopal order, proceeded first of all to dedicate the new Altar to the service of Almighty God, and then to consecrate the sacred oil with which the body of the Golden Eagle had already been filled by the Sacrist.

By this time the singing of the Litany to Thomas Tallis' beautiful setting had come to an end. The Procession was re-formed. The sound of music was heard once more, for, at a signal from Sir Frederick Bridge, the two Choirs broke out into one of our own peculiarly English hymns, "O God, our help in ages past," and a truly thrilling effect was produced when the last verse was reached, and the whole body of singers, orchestra, organ and congregation took up the strain.

Down the Nave did the Procession make its way, dividing into two lines to enable the bearers of the Regalia to pass into the Annexe temporarily erected at the western end of the Abbey. The glorious national treasures were delivered up into the hands of the Lord Great Chamberlain. The Choirs passed to their appointed seats, and the first act in the magnificent ceremonial which distinguished August 9, 1902, came to an end—a majestic and fitting prelude to the yet more elaborate and imposing ritual which was still to come.

TEN O'CLOCK IN THE ABBEY

And now the great building was filled to overflowing. The last portion of the specially invited guests had been conducted to their places ere the Procession of the Regalia had wended its way along the aisles. And what a scene it was! Not one single medal or decoration of the most trifling description

was absent which might impart additional brilliancy to the view. Now that the Abbey was thus decked out, as it were, to welcome the new King and Queen, it became apparent what an immense distance we had travelled since the time of the previous Coronation, when vast masses of hideous and unsightly red baize covered the galleries in every conceivable direction. The chaste and dignified hangings of purple and old gold which were so marked and effective a characteristic of King Edward's Coronation, while themselves unobtrusive in every way, nevertheless served a subtle purpose in throwing into considerably bolder relief the countless throng of handsomely dressed personages who occupied the various galleries.

But, after all, handsome, splendid and magnificent though all these external trappings were, yet they were dwarfed forthwith when the mind reverted, as it could not fail to do, to the awful thought of the great body of English Sovereigns who, in their turn, had passed up that famous Church, one by one, in order that they might undergo their solemn sacring at the High Altar from the consecrating hands of the official head of the English Church. Glorious though the surrounding decorations might be, minute and loving the care which had been lavished upon them in order to grace King Edward's triumph day, it was the grand old Abbey, none the less, which seemed to render every other thought insignificant. There stood its walls, now grey with age, enshrining within them all that is mortal of the best and noblest of England's sons and daughters. Hard by that very High Altar stood the tombs of our beloved King's own direct ancestors, each one of

whom had knelt upon the self-same spot, each one of whom had been strengthened by the blessing of the self-same consecration. There could be no grander or more outstanding feature than this from end to end of the Coronation.

The turn of the instrumentalists had now arrived, for, in the somewhat lengthy interval between the Procession of the Regalia and the Royal Proceeding itself, a band of picked instrumentalists performed a number of selections, supported by the beautiful background of the organ accompaniment, rendered with consummate taste and skill by Dr. Walter Alcock, organist of His Majesty's Chapel Royal.

Here a word must be said as to the general musical arrangements which were carried out by the distinguished organist of Westminster Abbey in such a masterly fashion. How he ever managed to overcome the enormous difficulties of his task remains a mystery to this day. The orchestra were placed upon a floor specially constructed upon the choir screen—an excellent position, but with little room to spare. In addition to the two royal Choirs of Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal, St. James' Palace, a large number of singers had been collected together from all parts of the country, pretty nearly every Cathedral Church being represented. The mere task of drilling an immense body of people who had never sung together until just before the Coronation was in itself an arduous undertaking, but Sir Frederick Bridge was here only at the beginning of his difficulties! Owing to the extremely limited amount of space available this huge Choir was of necessity accommodated in two galleries on either side of the organ loft, and

Photo by *Thos. Wright.*

The Nave looking East, showing the arrangement of the galleries and hangings.

arranged in such a manner that well nigh half of the singers were unable to gain the slightest glimpse of the Conductor standing in the centre of the instrumentalists upon the Choir Screen! Here was a difficulty which might well have daunted the boldest, but the Conductor was fully equal to the occasion. Immediately adjoining one of the pillars on either side there was placed a seat for a Sub-conductor, namely, Sir George Martin, organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, and Dr. Joseph C. Bridge, organist of Chester Cathedral. From their respective points of vantage the two Sub-conductors were able to follow the slightest movement of their chief standing in the centre of the Choir Screen. Beating time in unison with him, they managed at the same moment to convey his commands to the most distant member of the Chorus. It was a veritable triumph of organisation and good management, for, in spite of all these manifold difficulties which in the aggregate could scarcely be described as anything less than colossal, the Choir sang with a hearty goodwill, an accuracy, and a refinement worthy of the very best traditions of English Cathedral music.

THE ROYAL PROCESSIONS

The succession of dazzlingly beautiful scenes which now burst one by one upon the eyes of the beholders altogether baffles description, as the group of Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal, the Royal guests from the other side of the Channel, attended by their respective suites, and last of all the family of the Heir-Apparent to the Throne, each of the three Processions being headed by representatives of the College of Arms, were conducted to their several

stations. Few of those privileged to be present in the Abbey will ever forget the dazzling beauty of the Crown Princess of Roumania on the one hand, or, on the other the venerable appearance of the Duke of Cambridge and his aged sister, the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the latter being placed in precisely the same position which she occupied at the Coronation of Queen Victoria.

And now the tension of anticipation which all this long while had been steadily increasing, became well nigh unbearable. Cannon were booming away outside, and the Abbey bells—a beautiful ring of six which are only heard on the rarest possible occasions—were pealing forth their welcome to our Seventh Edward and his gracious Consort. Everyone now realized that their beloved Monarch had passed within the entrance of this historic Church. Band and Chorus were on the very tiptoe of anxious and eager expectation simply awaiting the signal when they would pour forth, in honour of the Sovereign whose life had been given back to the Nation from the very brink of the grave, such a welcome as not even the best beloved of his predecessors had ever received.

THE GRAND PROCEEDING

This, the Coronation Procession proper, fell into several distinct sections. The first was mainly ecclesiastical in character, the predominating colour being scarlet, due to the splendid copes worn by the Dean and Canons of Westminster, and the mantles of the Royal Chaplains. Of the former body none were absent, and it was a peculiar pleasure to many in the great congregation to

behold at the conclusion of this portion of the Procession, the thin, spare figure of the beloved Dean Bradley, who, despite the burden of increasing years and infirmity, was none the less able on this great occasion to render his service to the King.

To the clergy succeeded a body of laity, consisting in the main of the officers of the various orders of Knighthood and the Poursuivants; but at this point appeared two features of great and commanding interest in the bearers of the Standards of England and Scotland. The latter country possessed its own Hereditary Standard Bearer in Mr. Henry Scrymgeour Wedderburn, but, with singular appropriateness, there was assigned to the Honourable the King's Champion the duty of supporting the Standard of England. It was a matter for general regret that, owing to the changed circumstances of the age, it was not possible for Mr. Frank Scaman Dymoke to ride fully armed into Westminster Hall, as did his fathers before him, for the purpose of flinging down his gauntlet in defiance of all who should dare gainsay the claims of the new Sovereign of England to sit upon the Throne. Some compensation was afforded, however, for the absence of that popular and time-honoured custom in that there was assigned to the Lord of the Manor of Scrivelsby this new, but singularly appropriate duty.

Then followed a succession of groups of an intensely interesting character. The Union Standard was carried by the Duke of Wellington, who was followed immediately by Sir Hugh Gough, the Keeper of the Crown Jewels, bearing, upon a splendidly embroidered cushion, the two ruby Rings destined to be placed upon the third fingers of their

Majesties' right hands, together with the Sword subsequently to be offered at the High Altar. The Knights of the Garter, wearing their dark blue mantles, to whom had been assigned the duty of supporting the canopy over the head of King Edward at the time of the anointing, could not fail to command universal attention, including, as they did, the Earl of Rosebery and Earl Spencer. Among the Members of the Cabinet who appeared at this point were the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Ashbourne, and the new Premier, Mr. Arthur Balfour, who occupied the place which would have been taken by his distinguished uncle, had the "hallowing" of King Edward been enacted six weeks earlier. The two Archbishops, who were separated from each other by the Lord High Chancellor, unlike the Deans and Canons of Westminster, were arrayed in copes of embroidered white silk. All of these passed on into the Sacrarium of the Abbey, save a small group which formed up beneath the Lantern, consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Chancellor and the Lord President of the Council, who stood there awaiting the signal for the striking ceremony of the Recognition.

Now at last there came one of those scenes for which many persons had been so eagerly waiting, namely, the Procession of the Queen Consort. It would be difficult indeed to describe the gorgeous wealth of colour which met the eye as the beloved Queen Alexandra slowly advanced up the Nave, supported by the two Bishops of Norwich and Oxford, her crimson train, spangled all over with gold, being carried by eight pages under the superintendence of the Mistress of the Robes. In front walked the

attendant Peers carrying her Regalia—the Duke of Roxburghe, with the Crown, the Earl of Gosford and Lord Harris with the Sceptres. The attention of onlookers was, however, straightway distracted from these by the vision of fairyland which immediately followed, consisting of the Ladies of the Bedchamber and the Maids of Honour, wearing trains of gold and silver respectively. To one looking down upon the Procession from above, these noble ladies with their trains spread out behind them, as they wound their way through the Choir and round the "theatre" into the places assigned to them, almost appeared to resemble birds of some gorgeous Eastern paradise.

By this time the whole of the mighty chorus had risen to their feet, and, after Mr. Percy Godfrey's effective "Coronation March" had been performed, the solemn and beautiful Processional Anthem composed for the occasion by Professor Sir Hubert Parry, had commenced. No music could possibly have been better calculated to catch the spirit of the Psalmist's words—words which have been sung for century after century, as the Sovereigns of England have in their turn entered the Abbey Church of St. Peter on this the greatest occasion of their lives—"I was glad when they said unto me We will go into the House of the Lord." So ran the beautiful strains rendered by the two choirs of the Abbey and the Chapel Royal alone. Then the music worked up to a magnificent climax, and the entire body of the singers took up the strain in a perfectly thrilling fashion. "Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity with itself." A magnificent interlude by the band led on to a number of brilliant

Photo by *Newton & Co.*

The Nave looking West, as arranged for the Coronation of Edward VII.

fanfares on the part of the State Trumpeters from their position on the Choir Screen, and then, just as Queen Alexandra passed into the Choir, a series of lusty shouts resounded from end to end of the building, from the lips of the King's Scholars of Westminster School seated in their lofty position in the triforium. "Vivat Regina Alexandra, Vivat, Vivat, Vivat!" Such was the shout of welcome which greeted Queen Alexandra, like her predecessors before her, from these loyal representatives of modern democracy.

The music sank down. Chorus and orchestra ceased altogether, while a March, written many years ago by Sir Hubert Parry, was interpolated by Dr. Alcock upon the organ. The excitement and the general feeling of tension from end to end of the Abbey increased every moment. At last, however, the long expected signal was given at the great western doors, and the King's own Procession proceeded to advance with slow and dignified steps up the Nave, headed, of course, by three members of the College of Arms. It was indeed a wonderful group which immediately preceded King Edward VII, containing as it did some of the most remarkable and picturesque figures in English national life of the day: the Duke of Argyll, Hereditary Master of His Majesty's Household in Scotland, carrying the Sceptre with the Cross, the Earl of Loudoun and Lord Grey de Ruthyn walking side by side, each of them bearing one of the Golden Spurs, the Swords of Justice to the Temporality and Spirituality borne aloft by the Commander-in-Chief and one of his predecessors, while the Sword of Mercy with its blunted edge, entitled "Curtana," was carried by

the Duke of Grafton. To this group succeeded other members of the Heralds' College accompanying the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of London carrying the crystal mace, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, the Lord Great Chamberlain of England, together with the more important items of the King's Regalia guarded on either side by the Earl Marshal of England and the Duke of Fife as Lord High Constable, both of them wielding their batons. St. Edward's Crown was carried by the Duke of Marlborough, as Lord High Steward of England, while immediately preceding him came the Marquis of Londonderry with the Sword of State. "Vivat Rex Edwardus, Vivat, Vivat, Vivat!" came the raucous shouts of the King's Scholars of Westminster School from the triforium once more, and then at last appeared the beloved figure of the Sovereign walking with firm step as though he had never known a day's illness all his life, and surrounded by a striking group of prelates attired in handsome silk copes.

King Edward looked regal and magnificent to a degree, arrayed as he was in the crimson Parliament Robe and with the Cap of State turned up with ermine, upon his head. Behind him came his eight pages supporting his train under the superintendence of Lord Suffield, the Master of the Robes.

Even now the interest of this unique procession was not wholly abated, for there were still to come some of the most popular figures of the day in England, like the Duke of Portland with his coronet borne by his son, Viscount Kitchener and General Gaselee, the sight of the two last mentioned bringing to not a few the recollection of those dark

days in South Africa and China, at that time fresh in the minds of all.

As soon as the vigorous shouts of the Westminster Scholars had ceased, the strain in which they themselves had uttered their time-honoured Latin formula was taken up with majestic breadth and indescribable solemnity by the entire body of voices. Then once more did the beautiful music sink down, and a kind of invocation, as it were, ascended up on high, a prayer that the blessings of peace might rest upon our beloved country for many a long year to come ;—"O pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love thee"—sung by the two royal choirs of Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal, St. James', alone. Then once more, in conclusion, did the whole chorus join in and swell forth into a mighty burst of sound: "Peace be within thy walls and plenteousness within thy palaces." What a wonderful and remarkable harbinger, so to speak, of the reign of Edward the Peacemaker!

One by one the bearers of the Regalia made their way across the "theatre" into the Sacrarium of the Abbey. Standing at the High Altar, was the Sub-Dean, Dr. Duckworth, who officiated throughout almost the entire ceremony on behalf of his aged chief, totally unable as the latter was to carry out the enormously elaborate part assigned by ancient tradition to the Dean of Westminster in the ceremonial of the "Sacring."

It was impossible for the Primate, however, to depute his duties in this manner, and in all probability one of the most striking of the many memories carried away from that most splendid scene by the worshippers was the spectacle of the brave old man,

standing there with the marks of emotion plainly visible upon his countenance, the splendid embroidery of his rich, silk cope only serving to render more manifest the tokens of age and suffering. The feebleness of Archbishop Temple's eyesight, too, was such that it was found necessary to make certain special arrangements to meet this really serious difficulty. Accordingly, the unfamiliar prayers and exhortations which it is the duty of the Primate of All England to recite on the occasion of a Coronation were held up in front of the Archbishop by the Bishop of Winchester, being printed in enormous characters upon a series of scrolls—a reminiscence of a similar service rendered many centuries ago by another Bishop of Winchester to an Archbishop suffering from the same affliction.

THE RECOGNITION

But now the stately service itself was on the eve of commencement. The crowns and sceptres had been placed by the Sub-Dean upon the High Altar, which seemed to be almost literally ablaze. The King and Queen had been conducted to their seats on the south side of the Sacrarium with their attendant bishops beside them, and the four State Swords carried aloft by our gallant generals some little distance to the eastward. Further off stood another score or so of figures, whose gorgeous robes contributed to this portion of the building a perfect mass of brilliant colouring.

On the western side of the "theatre" stood an interesting group, consisting of the Primate, together with the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, and of

course the Earl Marshal, preceded by Deputy Garter King of Arms in his magnificently embroidered tabard. Now at length had arrived the more purely democratic portion of the Order of Coronation. Before the Archbishop could proceed to perform the more solemn acts contained in the "Sacring," it was necessary for the assent of the entire people of the land present in the persons of their representatives within the walls of the Abbey to signify their undoubted assent to these momentous proceedings. "Sirs—I here present unto you King Edward, the undoubted King of this realm; wherefore all you who are come this day to do your homage, are you willing to do the same?" Such was the historic formula which was uttered by the familiar voice of the Primate. Quick and sharp came the reply, and the sound rose to and fro from end to end of the Abbey like the voice of many waters, as the people with high acclamations shouted their assent over and over again. "God save King Edward! God save King Edward!" And then the cry was taken up by the silver State Trumpets, which crashed forth a brilliant fanfare. No incident in the entire ceremony surpassed that of the Recognition of King Edward VII as he stood there before his subjects, in dramatic power, in deep intensity of meaning.

Then the sound of music arose as the Archbishop was conducted up the steps of the High Altar. "O hearken Thou unto the voice of my calling, my King and my God, for unto Thee will I make my prayer." Very soft and sweet did the voices of the Choir sound as they rendered this beautiful and singularly appropriate Introit, though few in all probability

realised that the gifted composer had spent his last few years of suffering within a stone's throw of Westminster Abbey itself.

The Epistle was read by the Bishop of Ely, Lord Alwyne Compton; the Gospel by the Bishop of Winchester, with its appropriate and significant teaching. "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's." Then the choir burst forth into the splendid setting of the Nicene Creed in E major, composed by Samuel Sebastian Wesley, one of the most perfect gems of the English school of Church music.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE OATH

The Creed concluded, the Archbishop descended from the steps of the High Altar in order to question the new King as to his willingness to be bound by the ancient constitution of the land. The penetrating voice of the former was audible over well-nigh the entire building, but it came as a joyful surprise to the congregation when they heard the clear, stirring tones in which the latter made his reply. The enormous Bible, the gift of the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with its splendid gold and crimson cover, was tendered to His Majesty, and, laying his hand upon the first Chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, he solemnly kissed the Book and duly appended his signature to a transcript of the Oath.

THE UNCTION

The popular portion of the Coronation service was now at an end. The people of England had bestowed their recognition upon the new monarch, while he in

his turn had given the most solemn of pledges that he would observe the rights and privileges won for that people, often at the cost of blood and tears, by their dauntless ancestors in past centuries. The transition took place from the human to the Divine, as it were, and there now devolved upon the assembled multitude the duty of offering up their supplications to Almighty God that He would guard, guide and bless him to whom such terrific responsibilities had just been entrusted.

First of all, then, must be performed the solemn Anointing, the central feature in this historic ceremony. The Archbishop having repeated the first line, the Choir, to the accompaniment of the organ alone, lifted up their voices in the ancient office hymn of the Church, "Veni Creator Spiritus." Very moving and beautiful did this invocation of God the Holy Spirit sound, while the majestic plain-song music was rendered with deepest reverence and devotion by the great body of singers. An entirely new note, as it were, was struck, a deeper feeling was imparted to the service.

At last the music came to an end, and, standing in front of the High Altar, the Archbishop laid his hand upon the Golden Eagle and solemnly implored that the gift of God the Holy Spirit might descend upon the new Sovereign and remain with him for ever and ever. Without one single moment's pause, that wonderful succession of arpeggios commenced which forms the introduction to the most celebrated of Handel's Coronation Anthems, composed originally for the Sacring of George II and Queen Caroline, and performed at every Coronation without exception ever since. Louder and louder waxed the

sound, and the orchestra rose to a mighty crash as the splendid words were taken up by the choir in seven-part harmony: "Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anointed Solomon King." Then the pace quickened with the advent of the second movement, as the music commenced to tell of the joy felt by the people of the Jews, till at last there were heard the series of cheers which Handel has treated with such wonderful effect—"God save the King! Long live the King! May the King live for ever! Hallelujah! Amen"—the whole concluding in a perfect pæan of joy. Could anyone, it might well be asked, save "the mighty Saxon" himself, have caught the spirit of the words and realised so forcibly the wonderfully dramatic event which they record?

Meanwhile the somewhat complicated ceremonial connected with the Unction was commenced forthwith, without waiting for the conclusion of the Anthem. The King was divested of his crimson Parliament Robe, which was carried, together with the Cap of Estate, into St. Edward's Chapel. Meanwhile, from the north side of the Sacrarium there was slowly brought forward, by four pages, a splendid canopy embroidered in white and gold. It was placed, supported at each corner by four silver staves, over the venerable Chair of King Edward. After this the interesting quartet of Knights of the Garter were summoned from their seats and took each of them one of the staves from the hand of the pages. The ancient Spoon, probably the oldest portion of our national Regalia, and the Ampulla were brought from the High Altar by the Sub-Dean, and the Archbishop, with the Bishop of Winchester

holding up the scroll before his eyes, took up his position in front of his Majesty. Thus, hidden away from the gaze of his subjects, was Edward VII solemnly "hallowed to King," while the grand music rolled to and fro.

THE INVESTITURE

The Unction completed, the lengthy and somewhat complicated series of Investitures followed. By this time the music had come to an end, and for the major portion of the congregation a silence, solemn and impressive, followed. Nought could be heard save the distant murmur of the Archbishop's voice as one by one the various ensigns of royalty were delivered into the hands of the King. The Super-tunica, which was the first of the vestments placed by the Sub-Dean of the Abbey upon King Edward's person, was strikingly magnificent, being made almost entirely of cloth of gold with flowers brocaded and frosted upon it. Reaching down, as it did, almost to his Majesty's feet, he appeared to the more distant spectators as though he were one mass of gleaming and burnished gold.

The more distinctively military emblems, namely, the great Golden Spurs and the Sword of State, followed. The ceremonial connected with the former was simple, for the King's heels were merely touched with them. The latter case was, however, very different. Until now the Sword of State had been borne in front of his Majesty by the Marquis of Londonderry, but at this point in the service he exchanged it for a still more elaborate, though rather smaller weapon, which the Archbishop forthwith proceeded to bless at the High

Altar. Then his Grace descended the steps and, surrounded by a group of his brother prelates, placed it in the King's hands, uttering at the same moment the words: "Receive this Kingly Sword, brought now from the Altar of God and delivered to you by the hands of us, the bishops and servants of God, though unworthy." Even more solemn was the next incident as the Sword was buckled round the King's waist and he was solemnly charged in words of awful eloquence to bear in mind the responsibilities now entrusted to his keeping: "With this Sword do justice, stop the growth of iniquity, protect the Holy Church of God, help and defend widows and orphans, restore the things that are gone to decay, maintain the things that are restored, punish and reform what is amiss, and conserve what is in good order; that, doing these things you may be glorious in all virtue and so faithfully serve our Lord Jesus Christ in this life that you may reign for ever with Him in the life which is to come." Under ordinary circumstances the Sovereign should then have offered the Sword in person at the High Altar, but this duty, by reason of the condition of King Edward's health, was deputed to the Bishop of Winchester. Then, coming forward from his place, the Marquis of Londonderry, kneeling upon the steps, placed in the oblation dish a handsomely embroidered purse containing the price of the Sword, namely one hundred shillings, freshly coined for this purpose at the Royal Mint. The weapon was subsequently delivered by the Sub-Dean to the Marquis, who during the rest of the service carried it naked in front of the King.

The military and the priestly aspects of the

Coronation thus received due emphasis and recognition. The time had now arrived for the delivery into the hands of the newly anointed monarch of the symbols of dominion. The Super-tunica was magnificent to a degree, but its glory was completely eclipsed by that of the wonderful Imperial Mantle, which was now delivered to the Sub-Dean by the Groom of the Robes. With its four corners this vestment signified that a portion of the world was now being placed under the control and government of a new earthly ruler. The splendid heraldic devices with which it was embroidered, the Tudor roses, the thistle of Scotland, the shamrock of Ireland, together with the golden eagles, all of them emphasised certain aspects of King Edward's imperial position, but over and above these, an innovation of happy import had been introduced into the decoration of the Imperial Mantle in the shape of the lotus-flower, pointing to the fair realm of India, some of whose dusky potentates were present, seated in the choir stalls, having come many a long mile that they might testify their respect to their new sovereign lord. The Investiture with the Imperial Mantle was followed by the delivery into the King's right hand of the Orb with the Cross standing upon it: "The Lord your God endue you with knowledge and wisdom, with majesty and power from on High; the Lord clothe you with a robe of righteousness and with the garment of salvation." "When you see this Orb set under the Cross remember that the whole world is subject to the power and empire of Christ our Redeemer."

Next came the uniting of the King in holy wedlock with his people, as it were, by placing upon the third

finger of his right hand, or to quote the more accurate wording of the rubric, the fourth finger, "the wedding ring of England."

Before, however, the symbols implying the right of the King to administer punishment were delivered, the Duke of Newcastle, as Lord of the Manor of Worksop, came forward bearing a scarlet glove upon which were embroidered the arms of his dukedom. This having been placed upon the King's right hand, the two Sceptres, first of all the gorgeous Sceptre with the Cross, blazing with countless gems, and next the somewhat simpler Rod with the Dove were delivered with yet another solemn admonition from the lips of the Primate that the new Monarch would so "execute justice that he forget not mercy, but punish the wicked, protect and cherish the just, and lead his people in the way wherein they should go."

THE CROWNING

All this time the pent-up excitement had been steadily increasing, till it seemed as though the vast congregation could endure no more. Minutes seemed like hours, while the silence was only broken by the distant tones of the Archbishop's voice and the occasional rustle of some gorgeous robe. The effect, too, was rendered yet more solemn by the deep gloom which hung over the Abbey Church, and, indeed, it seemed at this moment as though the shadows were deepening yet further. But, the supreme climax was close at hand. Standing at the High Altar once more, the Primate took the Imperial Crown into his hands, and prayed in faltering, but impassioned tones, "O God, the Crown of the faithful; bless, we beseech thee and sanctify this

Thy servant Edward our King; and as Thou dost this day set a crown of gold upon his head, so enrich his royal heart with Thy abundant grace and crown him with all princely virtues, through the King Eternal, Jesus Christ our Lord." The "Amen" rang forth from the Choir, ratifying and sealing the Archbishop's petition, and then the entire congregation seemed to hold their breath. The parting of the ways had been reached, and a new era for the people of England was now about to commence. For the first time did the aged Dean Bradley leave his chair. The Sub-Dean brought the Crown, resting upon its crimson cushion, from the High Altar and delivered it into the hands of his chief, who in his turn passed it to his old friend and colleague, the Primate. Slowly and with infinite difficulty did the latter uplift his own hands that they might crown the seventh Edward to be ruler over his people, and then a mighty shout rent the air. The Abbey simply pealed from end to end with the cry, "God save the King," repeated over and over again. The Sacrarium and its host of gorgeously attired figures was suddenly filled with brilliant light, while at the same moment each Peer lifted his coronet to his own head. In another moment the martial clangour of the silver trumpets was added, while further away could be heard the pealing of the Abbey bells from the western towers and the more distant booming of the great guns which were now being shot off in St. James' Park and at the Tower, the ancient riverside palace of the kings of England.

It was a moment of indescribable meaning, when the people, whose King had been restored to them

from the very gates of death, proceeded to give the rein to their feelings of delight and affection. Slowly and unwillingly, as it were, did the mighty tumult die down, and then the voice of the Archbishop was heard once more from the High Altar this time uttering words of loving benediction and encouragement: "Be strong and of a good courage, observe the commandments of God and walk in His way; fight the good fight of faith and lay hold on eternal life, that in this world you may be crowned with success and honour, and when you have finished your course receive a crown of righteousness which God the righteous Judge shall give you in that day."

Then Sir Walter Parratt ascended to the conductor's seat, in order that he might take the lead in the performance of his own contribution to the music of the Coronation. Trumpets, horns and trombones blared forth, to be joined the next moment by the whole body of singers, emphasising the words just spoken by the Archbishop: "Be strong and play the man."

THE PRESENTATION OF THE HOLY BIBLE

The Sub-Dean now proceeded to the High Altar once more and took from it the massive gilt-edged volume which was the joint gift of the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge towards the splendour of King Edward's Coronation. For the first time was the new Sovereign now addressed by the Archbishop by the title so familiar to us all, "Our Gracious King." As the great book was solemnly delivered into his hands he was reminded that it was the most precious of all earthly possessions.

"Here is wisdom, this is the royal law, these are the lively oracles of God."

THE BENEDICTION

The King anointed, consecrated and crowned, must now be made the recipient of the richest blessing which the Church of God can convey. There sat King Edward, in the venerable Chair of his ancestor and namesake, the picture of regal dignity, blazing from head to foot with some of earth's priceless treasures, surrounded by all the gorgeous paraphernalia of the greatest empire the world has ever known. Standing before him, the Primate, almost exhausted by the tremendous strain, now solemnly invoked upon the head of the new King, and all his subjects far and near, the fullest bounty of Heaven. "The Lord bless you and keep you," rang forth the words in deep, tremulous, impassioned tones. "And as He has made you king over His people, so may He prosper you in this world and make you partake of His eternal felicity in the world to come." Then the theme changed from the divine to the human side of royal power. "The Lord give you a fruitful country and helpful seasons, victorious fleets and armies and a quiet empire, a faithful senate, wise and upright counsellors and magistrates, a loyal nobility and a dutiful gentry, a pious and learned and useful clergy, an honest, industrious and obedient commonalty." Twice over did the Bishops and Peers respond with a loud and hearty "Amen," and then the Archbishop turned, as it were, to the more distant multitude, representing as they did every shade of rank in our island home and in the

yet greater Britain beyond the seas. "The same Lord God Almighty grant that the clergy and nobles assembled here for this great and solemn service, and together with them all the people of the land, fearing God and honouring the King, may by the merciful superintendency of Divine Providence and the vigilant care of our gracious Sovereign continually enjoy peace, plenty and prosperity. Through Jesus Christ our Lord, to Whom with the Eternal Father and God the Holy Ghost be glory in the Church, world without end."

THE ENTHRONIZATION

Then followed another of those brilliant pictures with which this coronation was so full. King Edward was conducted from the ancient Chair in which he had been seated all this time to the Throne erected for him upon the loftiest part of the "Theatre." On either side walked his two supporter prelates of Durham and Bath and Wells, while the four great Officers of State, our gallant generals carrying the Swords aloft, and the rest of the noblemen who had borne the various pieces of the Regalia at an earlier stage in the ceremony, now came clustering round the Throne, as though ready to defend with their very life-blood, if need be, the King who had just been chosen and consecrated to bear rule over them. Lastly came the two Archbishops, followed by their brethren of London, Winchester, and Ely. The King was solemnly "elevated" or placed in his new seat by these piritual Peers, and was addressed yet once more by the Archbishop of Canterbury in words of loving exhortation. "Stand firm and hold fast from

henceforth the seat and state of royal and imperial dignity which is this day delivered unto you in the Name and by the authority of Almighty God and by the hands of us the bishops and servants of God, though unworthy. And as you see us to approach nearer to God's altar, so vouchsafe the more graciously to continue to us your royal favour and protection, and the Lord God Almighty, Whose ministers we are, and the stewards of His Mysteries, establish your Throne in righteousness that it may stand fast for evermore, like as the sun before Him and as the faithful witness in heaven."

THE HOMAGE

Without one moment's delay the Choir burst forth into the striking and somewhat lengthy anthem written for the occasion by Sir Frederick Bridge. Full of meaning and beauty did Isaiah's words sound as they were given forth with marked emphasis by the singers. "Kings shall see and arise, princes also shall worship, because of the Lord that is faithful, even the Holy One of Israel, who hath chosen thee."

The fortissimo passages of the Anthem naturally precluded the general congregation from catching the sound of the words which followed from the lips of the chief actors in this wonderful ceremonial. It was easy to see, however, that the Spiritual Peers who now came forward in a body and knelt down together with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, before their royal master, were giving a solemn undertaking to be faithful and true to their new sovereign lord and to his heirs who should come after and bear rule over the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Then came the turn of the Princes of the blood royal, headed by the Prince of Wales, as they swore to the new King that they would become each one of them his liegeman of life and limb and earthly worship, and bear faith and truth to him, to live and die against all manner of folks.

All the while the beautiful music continued, taking up at this point a new and softer theme as it told of the royal attribute of Mercy: "That thou mayest say to the prisoners, go forth, to them that are in darkness show yourself, for He that has mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall He guide them."

The words were singularly appropriate, for they seemed reminiscent of the ancient custom which in the olden time always used to take place at this particular moment when the Lord High Chancellor himself came forward and proceeded to proclaim a general pardon to the people of England, north, south, east and west.

Last of all, the act of Homage was completed, when the premier Peers of the different grades into which our English nobility are classed came forward and knelt on the steps of the Throne—the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Viscount Hereford and Baron de Ros. All of these, like the Archbishop of Canterbury and Prince of Wales, after repeating the usual declaration, rose to their feet and, removing their respective coronets, proceeded to kiss the King on the left cheek and to touch the crown with their own right hands in token that they and all the members of their respective orders would defend the Throne against every assailant.

The music was fast drawing to a close, and once more was the extraordinary appropriateness of Isaiah's words made manifest: "And I will make all my mountains a way, and my highway shall be exalted." It really seemed for the moment as though the mighty Empire beyond the seas was meant to be included, while those dark-skinned potentates stood there in their seats of dignity, gracing the ceremony of the "hallowing" of an English monarch for the first time in our country's story. "Behold these shall come from far!" thus declaimed the singers. "And lo! these from the north and from the west, and these from the land of Sinim." Then, the original theme was heard once more, and the anthem piled up, as it were, to a magnificent climax. "Kings shall see and arise, princes also shall worship, because of the Lord that is faithful, even the Holy One of Israel, Who hath chosen thee."

One more strikingly dramatic incident and then the Sacring of the King was over, and Edward the seventh bearer of that illustrious name was left for the moment seated upon his throne surrounded by all the pomp and circumstance of regal dignity. The Anthem concluded, and then the basses thundered forth the words: "God save King Edward" with splendid vigour. Then came the tenors adding their own quota, and last of all, the most brilliant boys' voices known in Europe took up the refrain "May the King live for ever." It seemed as though the very stones themselves of the old Abbey wished to join in the welcome thus given by his subjects to Edward the Seventh, "King of Great Britain and Ireland, Emperor of India and of the Dominions beyond the seas."

The centre of interest was now shifted for a while. All this time Queen Alexandra, sitting in her chair on the south side of the Sacrarium, had remained a spectator of the brilliant scene. Now she rose from her seat and, surrounded by her pages and attended by the Duchess of Buccleuch, as Mistress of the Robes, made her way to the steps of the High Altar, where the Archbishop of York was waiting to receive her and to pray that the Almighty Father "would defend her evermore from danger, ghostly and bodily," and that He would "make her a great example of virtue and piety and a blessing to this Kingdom."

The prayer having been offered, Deputy Garter came forward and summoned from their places in the North Transept the four Duchesses of Portland, Marlborough, Sutherland, and Montrose. These took up their positions like the four Knights of the Garter at an earlier stage in the ceremony, at each corner of the canopy of white and gold, while the northern Primate poured the consecrated oil upon the head of the new Queen.

The ring, "the seal of a sincere faith" was placed upon her right hand, and then the Archbishop, uplifting the newly made crown, invoked the blessing of Heaven and set it upon her head. "Receive the crown of glory, honour and joy," he exclaimed, "and God, the Crown of the faithful, who by our episcopal hands (though unworthy) doth this day set a crown of pure gold upon your head, enrich your royal heart with His abundant grace and crown you with all princely virtues in this life and with an everlasting

crown of glory in the life which is to come. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The Queen's Crown was indeed a worthy addition to our national treasures. Unlike its companions, it contained eight, instead of four arches, covered each one of them with a countless number of brilliants, while in front there flashed the wondrous rays of the Kohinoor, "the mountain of light."

Simultaneously with the crowning of the Queen, the Peeresses one and all proceeded to place their own tiny coronets upon their own heads, and with the delivery of the Sceptre with the Cross and the Rod with the Dove into the Queen's hands, the sacring of Queen Alexandra was complete.

Then followed a splendidly impressive piece of ceremonial, one of the most striking in fact in the whole day, as the Queen was conducted to her Throne upon the "Theatre," to the left of the King. Few of those present will ever forget the sight of Queen Alexandra as she turned round and faced westward with her supporters, the Bishops of Norwich and Oxford, and, followed by the Mistress of the Robes and the eight pages, was forthwith ushered to her own seat, while her Vice-Chamberlain and her Regalia bearers clustered round her—a splendid climax to an altogether overwhelming occasion.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

It only lasted, however, for one brief moment. A new note altogether was now struck. The Archbishop, having recited the first of the Offertory Sentences, the Choir proceeded to render to the accompaniment of the organ alone that gem by

Henry Purcell, perhaps the most beautiful item in all the music at the Coronation of King Edward and Queen Alexandra, "Let my prayer come forth in Thy presence as the incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be as an evening sacrifice." A complete transition of feeling now took place. The earthly side of things with all its magnificence faded away into the dim and distant background as the King and Queen, now divested of Crown and Sceptre, came forward from their Thrones and reverently knelt in front of the High Altar, that they might be strengthened to endure the heavy burden which they had just accepted.

First of all, the Bishops of Winchester and Ely passed into the Chapel of St. Edward the Confessor, carrying the beautiful chalice and paten made of pure gold, reserved for the use of the crowned and anointed sovereigns of England upon their Coronation Day. The elements of bread and wine were then delivered by the two Prelates into the hands of the new King, thus indicating the new character with which he had become invested by virtue of his solemn consecration. No longer a mere layman, it was now the privilege of the sovereign of this land as a *mixta persona*, half ecclesiastic, half laic, to deliver these oblations into the hands of the Primate of All England, to be by him laid upon the High Altar with words of prayer and blessing. "Bless, O Lord, we beseech Thee, these Thy gifts, and sanctify them unto this holy use, that by them we may be made partakers of the Body and Blood of Thine Only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, and fed unto everlasting life of soul and body, and that Thy servant, King Edward, may be enabled to discharge

of his weighty office, whereunto of Thy great goodness Thou hast called and appointed him."

Next followed the traditional Offerings made as personal communicants by the King and Queen, quite one of the most remarkable features in the Order of the Coronation. These consisted of an ingot, or solid wedge of gold, weighing a pound, for the King, and a mark of gold for the Queen, together with two crimson palls, or altar cloths, similar in size and texture. These Offerings were placed by their Majesties in the splendid Oblation dish preserved with the Regalia in the Tower of London, after which they were laid upon the High Altar by the Archbishop.

Purcell's beautiful music was now at an end, but that it had not failed in its mission was evident. The hearts of those present, even in the more distant portions of the Abbey, were drawn all of them, in spirit at any rate, to the steps of the High Altar itself, where the King and Queen-Consort of this great nation knelt in lowly adoration.

That which followed was almost too sacred to be described. When the solemn prayers of the English Liturgy ascended one by one to the common Father of all, never before, in all probability, had the familiar words seemed so full of wondrous meaning to the general congregation as at this most memorable Celebration of the Holy Communion. None who were present could ever forget the rendering of the late Sir John Stainer's lovely Sanctus, or the beautiful Threefold Amen by Orlando Gibbons which followed the pronouncing of the Benediction. None, again, will ever forget the sight of the two worn and venerable figures of the Archbishop of Canterbury

and the Dean of Westminster as they solemnly administered the Blessed Sacrament to their new sovereign and his consort. It was the last time that the second of these two distinguished churchmen ever took part in the administration of the Holy Communion in the Abbey Church which he had served so long and so faithfully.

THE RECESS

A moment's pause, during which the Abbey seemed to be pervaded with a sense of peace, and then the brass instruments heralded forth the well-known setting of the Te Deum in B flat, by Sir Charles Villers Stanford. Normally speaking, the Te Deum should have been sung immediately after the act of crowning, but to spare King Edward any needless exertion, it was transferred to the necessarily lengthy interval which ensued between the pronouncing of the Benediction and the Recess. Splendidly massive and dignified did the Gregorian intonations sound which the composer has handled in so masterly a manner, declaimed, as they were, with singular breadth and vigour by the four hundred voices, supported by the full power of both organ and orchestra. No less sweet and refined, too, were the solo passages rendered by the two Royal Choirs only, in which a note of humiliation seemed to be introduced into the Te Deum :—" We therefore pray Thee help Thy servants whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy Precious Blood."

Meanwhile, the King and Queen passed through the twin doors on either side of the High Altar into the Chapel of St. Edward beyond, followed by the great Officers of State and the Regalia bearers.

Photo by *Newton & Co.*

St. Edward the Confessor's Altar with the "Traverses" of the King and Queen

Standing then in front of the Altar, restored in 1902, at the foot of the battered but still beautiful Shrine of the Confessor with its rich crimson canopy and frontal, a number of the Regalia were delivered into the hands of the Archbishop and the Sub-Dean and there laid down together with the Swords. The King and Queen then retired to their respective "traverses" on either side of the Shrine, where they were forthwith arrayed in the purple Robes of Estate.

The Te Deum at length came to an end, and then followed an event without which the Coronation could not possibly have been regarded as complete, namely, the singing of the National Anthem, though unfortunately, in a somewhat maimed form, owing to the omission of the second verse. Needless to say, it was taken up with a will by the whole of the congregation, as were likewise the cheers called for on behalf of their Majesties by the Headmaster of Westminster School from his lofty position in the triforium.

Then the orchestra were heard once more, this time in Wagner's celebrated "Kaiser-Marsch," and at length the culminating moment for which all had been eagerly and impatiently waiting arrived. First of all the figure of Queen Alexandra appeared from the door on the north side of the High Altar, wearing her purple robes with the Crown flashing forth its radiance above her head, while her Ladies and Maids of Honour gathered together in procession behind her. Thus attended, and supported on either side by the two Bishops of Norwich and Oxford, she slowly passed down the full length of the Abbey, while the Choir broke forth into the words written for the occasion by Mr. Arthur Benson:

"Hail Lord and Master Mighty Sovereign,
Thou art crowned with joy,
Thou art crowned with love,
God of our fathers look down from Heaven above,
Peace, peace be with thee, may God guard thee, guide thee.
God keep thee wise to serve the State,
God keep thee true, God keep thee great;
God we adore Thee, we implore Thee,
Save the King, thy grace enfold him.
God defend him, and God uphold him,
Strong in might, strong in right,
Grant his heart be stayed on Thee in faith, joy and peace."

The central figure of all was, however, still to come, and it was scarcely wonderful if for the moment a feeling of anxiety came to pervade the whole congregation, as to whether King Edward, with his strength enfeebled as it was, had really been able to endure the long drawn-out strain of this, the most tremendous occasion in his life. The seconds seemed to go by like minutes. Everyone felt himself to be standing on the very tiptoe of expectation, but at last, through the door, on the south side of the High Altar, came forth the King in his purple robes. Once more did the words of Mr. Benson's poetry crash forth with renewed strength as he passed down between the choir stalls, his face simply glowing with happiness and excitement. Out into the Nave he passed, and then the pent-up excitement of all the hundreds seated there could be restrained no longer. A perfect tempest of cheers burst forth, which simply drowned every note of the music. Outside the bells of the Abbey and the Church of St. Margaret were ringing for all they were worth, while in the further distance the guns were once more booming forth their own salute to the new King.

Through the great West door he passed, and the grand "Sacring" of Edward, seventh of the name, was at an end—an occasion more full of solemn meaning for the entire nation than any other of the many gorgeous ceremonials witnessed here for centuries past, in the very heart of the British Empire itself.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE LIST OF PREPARATIONS ORDERED TO BE MADE FOR THE CORONATION OF CHARLES I.

A Stage must be set up, made square, and fastened to four Pillars of the Church, railed about, and the Rails and Stage overspread and covered with Carpets and Tapestry.

The Stage being made of some convenient height and breadth, must have some steps for ascent on the West part, about the midst thereof, and as many for descent to the Altar or Table, which is to be placed on the East.

Upon the Stage another little Scaffold must be erected of two foot high, with two steps to ascend; on which the Throne of State must be placed, and adorned as is meet.

A Chair of State must also be set on the Stage, on the right hand of the little Scaffold, with a

Faldstool and Cushions, for his Majesty to do his Devotion.

A little Traverse is to be made on the South side of the Altar or Table, for the King to repose and disrobe himself.

Round about on the right and left hand of the Stage, there must be Scaffolds for Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen of the Chamber, and others to rest and behold.

Within the compass of the Altar or Table a Pulpit must be set for Sermon.

Over against it a Chair of State for his Majesty, with a Fald-stool to kneel at.

On the West side of the Pulpit a Foarm covered with Tapestry, for the Archbishop and Bishops serving at the Coronation.

The Evening before, the King would be at service in Chappel, besides his private Devotion, whereof the Bishop of Dunblane, now Dean of the Chappel, must have care to remember His Majesty.

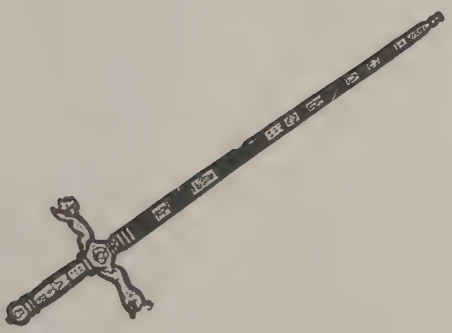
The Regal, Crown, Scepter, and Sword, with the Great Seal of the Kingdom, and Spurs are to be delivered to such Persons as his Majesty will appoint for carrying the same.

There is likewise to be provided a Red Silken Coat, having the Places for the Anointing opened and looped, which his Majesty is to wear next to his Shirt.

The Sacred Oyl is to be provided also, and put in some Silver Vessel.

Cloath of some colour, red or blew, must be prepared and spread on the Ground from the Palace Hall dore to the Stage in the Church, for his Majesty to walk upon all the way, which Way must be

railed on every side. This must be done in the Morning of the Coronation by some Nobleman that His Majesty will make Almoner for that day. And this concerning the preparation.



APPENDIX II

THE ORDER OF CEREMONIAL OF THE ROYAL BANQUET AT GEORGE IV.'S CORONATION

As the Procession enters the Hall, the Fifes, Drums, and Trumpets will go to their Gallery, and several other Persons composing it will be directed to their Places by the Officers of Arms.

On entering the Hall, the Barons of the Cinque Ports bearing the Canopy will remain at the bottom of the steps. His Majesty will ascend the elevated platform, and retire into His Chamber near the State.

The Company at the Tables will then sit down; and the Barons of the Cinque Ports will carry away the Canopy as their Fee.

THE DINNER

Dinner being ready, His Majesty wearing His Crown, and carrying the Sceptre with the Cross,

and the Orb, and attended and supported, and His Train borne as before, will come out of His Chamber, preceded by the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, and, the Four Swords borne before Him, will take His Seat in the Chair of State.

First Course.

The First Course will then be served in the following order:

Six Attendants on the Clerk Comptroller.
Two Clerks of the Kitchen, in Black Gowns.
The Clerk Comptroller in a Velvet Gown trimmed with Silver Lace.
Three Clerks of the Board of Green Cloth, in Scarlet Mantles.
The Secretary of the Board of Green Cloth.
The Master of His Majesty's Household.
The Comptroller of His Majesty's Household. The Treasurer of His Majesty's Household.
Four Serjeants at Arms with their Maces.
Three Great Officers of State on Horses richly caparisoned.

The Deputy Earl Marshal of England, bearing the Earl Marshal's Staff, and his Coronet on his Head, attended by a Page.	The Lord High Steward with his White Staff, his Coronet on his Head.	The Lord High Constable, with the Constable's Staff, and his Coronet on his Head, attended by two Pages.

Four Serjeants at Arms with their Maces.
Gentlemen Pensioners, bearing the Dishes of Meat.

The Dinner will be placed on the Table by His Majesty's Two Clerks of the Kitchen.

The Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, with His Majesty's Cupbearer the Earl of Abingdon, and his Assistant the Earl of Verulam, being preceded by Black Rod, will receive from the Officer of the Jewel-House the Gilt Basin and Ewer for His Majesty to wash, attended by the Lord of the

Manor of Heydon with the Towel. The King rising and delivering His Sceptre to the Lord of the Manor of Worksop, and the Orb to the Bishop standing on His Left Hand, the Cupbearer will pour out the Water on His Majesty's Hand, the Lord of the Manor of Heydon holding the Towel.

The Dean of the Chapel Royal will then say Grace ; and His Majesty having taken His Seat, the Bishops His Supporters will retire to their Dinner.

On the King's Right Hand will stand the Lord of the Manor of Worksop holding the Sceptre ; next to him on the same side, the Lords bearing the Four Swords ; on His Majesty's Left Hand, the Duke of Devonshire with the Orb, and next to him the Deputy Great Lord Great Chamberlain, and next to him the Duke of Rutland, bearing the Sceptre with the Dove.

At the end of the Table on the King's Right Hand will be seated their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Clarence and Sussex ; and on His Left Hand the Dukes of Cambridge and Gloucester, and the Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg.

The Duties of His Majesty's Carver will be performed by the Earl of Denbigh ; and those of the Assistant Carver by the Earl of Chichester. The Duties of His Majesty's Server will be performed by the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe ; and those of the Assistant Server by the Earl Whitworth.

Then the Deputy appointed by the Lord of the Manor of Addington will present the Mess of Dillegront, prepared by the King's Master Cook.

The Lord of the Manor of Wymondley in Hertfordshire assisted by the King's Cupbearer and his Assistant, will receive from the Master of the Jewel-

House and kneeling present to His Majesty, a Silver Gilt Cup containing Wine ; and His Majesty having drunk thereof, will return the Cup to him for his Fee.

The Duke of Argyle, as Great Master of the Household of Scotland, will then present a Gold Cup of Wine ; and His Majesty having drunk thereof will return the Cup to him for his Fee.

THE CHALLENGE

Before the Second Course, the Deputy appointed to officiate as King's Champion, for the Lord of the Manor of Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire, will enter the Hall on Horseback in a complete Suit of Bright Armour, between the Lord High Constable and Deputy Earl Marshal also on Horseback, in the following manner :

Two Trumpets with the Champion's Arms on their Banners.
The Serjeant Trumpeter with his Mace on his Shoulder.
Two Serjeants at Arms with their Maces on their Shoulders.
The Champion's two Esquires, in half Armour, one on the Right Hand bearing the Champion's Lance, the other on the Left Hand with the Champion's Target and the Arms of Dymoke depicted thereon.
A Herald with a Paper in his Hand containing the Challenge.

The Deputy Earl Marshal on Horseback in his Robes and Coronet, with the Earl Marshal's Staff in his Hand, attended by a Page.	The Champion, on Horseback, in a complete suit of Bright Armour, with a Gauntlet in his hand, his Helmet on his Head adorned with a Plume of Feathers.	The Lord High Constable in his Robes and Coronet, and Collar of his Order, on Horseback, with the Constable's Staff, attended by two Pages.

Four Pages, richly apparelled, Attendants on the Champion.

At the Entrance into the Hall, the Trumpets sound thrice, and the Passage to the King's Table being cleared by the Knight Marshal, the Herald will with a loud voice proclaim the Champion's Challenge, in the words following:

> If any person, of what Degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay Our Sovereign Lord King George the Fourth of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Son and next Heir to our Sovereign Lord King George the Third, the last King, deceased, to be right Heir to the Imperial Crown of this United Kingdom, or that he ought not to enjoy the same, here is his Champion, who saith that he lieth, and is a false Traitor; being ready in Person to combat with him, and in this Quarrel will adventure his Life against him on what Day soever he shall be appointed.

Whereupon the Champion throws down his Gauntlet; which having lain a short time upon the ground, the Herald will take up and deliver again to the Champion.

They then advance to the middle of the Hall, where the Ceremony is again performed in the same manner.

Lastly they advance to the Steps of the Throne, where the Herald (and those who precede him) ascending to the middle of the Steps, will proclaim the Challenge in the like manner; when the Champion having thrown down his Gauntlet and received it again from the Herald, will make a low obeisance to the King; whereupon the Cupbearer, having received from the Officer of the Jewel-House a Gold Cup and Cover filled with Wine, will present

the same to the King, and His Majesty will drink to the Champion, and send him by the Cupbearer the said Cup, which the Champion (having put on his Gauntlet) will receive, and having made a low Obeisance to the King, will drink of the Wine; after which, making another low Obeisance to His Majesty, and being accompanied as before, he will depart out of the Hall, taking with him the said Cup and Cover as his Fee.

PROCLAMATION OF THE STYLES

Immediately after, Garter, attended by Clarenceux, Norroy, Lyon, Ulster, and the rest of the Officers of Arms will proclaim His Majesty's Styles in Latin, French, and English, three several times, first upon the uppermost Step of the elevated Platform, next in the middle of the Hall, and lastly at the bottom of the Hall, the Officers of Arms before each Proclamation crying "Largesse" in the usual manner.

Second Course.

The Second Course will then be served up with the same ceremony as the First.

Services in Pursuance of Claims.

Then the Lord of the Manor of Nether Bilsington will present His Majesty with three Maple Cups.

The Office of Chief Butler of England will be executed by the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl of Arundel and Lord of the Manor of Keninghill, who will receive a Gold Basin and Ewer as his Fee.

Dinner being concluded the Lord Mayor and Twelve principal Citizens of London, as Assistants to the Chief Butler of England, accompanied by the

King's Cupbearer and Assistant, will present to His Majesty Wine in a Gold Cup ; and the King having drunk thereof, will return the Gold Cup to the Lord Mayor as his Fee.

The Mayor of Oxford with the Eight other Burgesses of that City as Assistants to the Lord Mayor and Citizens of London, as Assistant to Chief Butler of England in the office of Butler, will be conducted to His Majesty, preceded by the King's Cupbearer. and having presented to the King a Bowl of Wine will receive the three Maple Cups for his Fee.

The Lord of the Manor of Lyston pursuant to his Claim, will then bring up a Charger of Wafers to His Majesty's Table.

The Duke of Atholl, as Lord of the Isle of Man, will present His Majesty with two Falcons.

The Duke of Montrose, as Master of the Horse to the King, will perform the Office of Serjeant of the Silver Scullery.

The Lord of the Barony of Bedford will perform the Office of Almoner ; and the Office of Chief Larderer will be performed by the Deputy of the Earl of Abergavenny.

HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM,
Acting for the Earl Marshal of England.

The Coronation of George IV. was the last at which the historic Banquet took place. Seeing that it is unlikely ever to be revived, the ceremonial, as performed at the last of these great occasions, possesses an exceptional interest to-day.

APPENDIX III

THE MUSICAL ARRANGEMENTS AT THE CORONATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA

THE ORDER OF THE MUSIC, &c.

TO BE PERFORMED AT

THE CORONATION

JUNE 28, 1838

1. On the entrance of Her Majesty into the Choir, the first Anthem, "I was glad" (*T. Attwood*).
2. At the Recognition, after the general Acclamation "God save Queen VICTORIA," then the Trumpets sound—("God save the Queen" to be played).
3. The Litany—the Choir reading the Responses.
4. At the end of the Litany, and before the Communion Service, the Sanctus and Responses after the Commandments (*Sir George Smart* Composer to Her Majesty's Chapels Royal). After the Gospel is named, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord"—to be sung.

5. After the Sermon is ended, and the Queen has taken the oath, the Hymn, the Grand Chant (Organ only)—the first line to be read by the Archbishop.

1. Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire ;
   And warm them with thy heav'nly fire.
2. Thou, who th' Anointing Spirit art :
   To us thy sevenfold gifts impart.
3. Let thy bless'd unction from above ;
   Be to us comfort, life, and love.
4. Enable with celestial light :
   The weakness of our mortal sight.
5. Anoint our hearts, and cheer our face :
   With the abundance of thy grace.
6. Keep far our foes, give peace at home :
   Where thou dost dwell, no ill can come.
7. Teach us to know the Father, Son ;
   And Spirit of both, to be but One.
8. That so through ages all along :
   This may be our triumphant Song.
9. In thee, O Lord, we make our boast :
   Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

6. After one short Prayer, the second Anthem, "Zadok the Priest" (*Handel*).
7. When the Queen is crowned, the Trumpets sound.
8. After a short Prayer, the third Anthem, "The Queen shall rejoice" (*Handel*).
9. After the Benediction, the "Te Deum" in A (*Dr. Boyce*).
10. During the Homage, the fourth Anthem, "This is the day the Lord hath made" (*W. Knyvett*, Composer to Her Majesty's Chapels Royal).

11. When the Homage is ended, the Trumpets sound.
12. After the Communion Service, the fifth Anthem, "Hallelujah" (*Handel*).
13. After the Blessing, an Instrumental Piece (*Handel*).

No. 91 Great Portland Street,
June.

CORONATION 1838

THURSDAY, JUNE 28

GENERAL REHEARSAL OF THE MUSIC

TUESDAY MORNING, JUNE 26

Enclosed is the admission Ticket for the General Rehearsal in Westminster Abbey, on Tuesday Morning next, June 26, at half past Ten to commence at Eleven o'clock precisely; the Ticket for June 28 will be given to you at this Rehearsal; but should you not then be present, it will be totally out of my power to obtain an admission for you on the 28th Inst. as no excuse can be received for your absence from this Rehearsal.

REGULATIONS

The door of the Abbey will be open at Half past Nine for the Rehearsal, on Tuesday Morning the 26th and from Six to Eight on Thursday Morning, the 28th: but the Performers are particularly requested to observe, that, according to the order of the Earl Marshal, they will not be admitted after Eight o'clock on Thursday morning.

The Entrance into the Abbey for all the

Performers, both on the 26th and 28th of June, will be through the Second Door on the left side of the Cloisters, in Dean's Yard. The Staircase into the Orchestra is near to this Door to the left; no Performer can be admitted without a Ticket which is only to be delivered up to the Person appointed to receive it at the entrance into the Orchestra at the top of the Stairs; although it must be produced when required at the Cloisters and Abbey Door.

I beg you to attend a Private Rehearsal at the Residence of Mr. Hawes, No. 7 Adelphi Terrace, Strand, on Saturday Morning next, to commence at Eleven, as it must terminate by One o'clock. Allow me to remind you of the regulation relative to your Dress on Thursday June 28 as stated in my former letter, viz:

"Every Lady in the Chorus must appear, on Thursday June 28, in a plain Morning Dress of thick white Muslin and without any Cap, Bonnet, or Ornament in the hair; I am instructed to say that no one dressed in any other manner can be admitted into the Orchestra." I must add that no coloured Ribbons of any sort will be allowed.

No Performer can be allowed to leave the Orchestra during the Ceremony of the Coronation.

I am,

Yours truly,

GEORGE SMART,

Director of the Music.

Extract from the *Globe*, Wednesday evening, June 27, 1838.

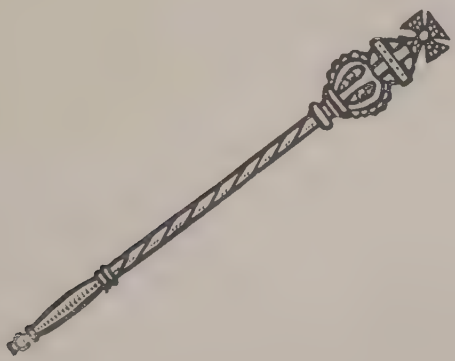
A Correspondent sends us the following: "This morning (Tuesday) I was at the rehearsal of the

music for the coronation. After passing through the dark purlieus that lead to the interior of the Abbey, the mind is appalled by the burst of splendour that breaks upon the sight. This murky pile glitters on all sides with crimson and gold, gallery above gallery rising nearly to the roof. The old organ has been cleared away, and in its place an orchestra is erected for five hundred performers. Opposite to this is the gallery for the House of Commons, from which rise stupendous columns of gold, supporting a spacious gallery at a terrible height. At the highest point on a platform richly ornamented, stand a band of trumpeters, who give a grand flourish on her Majesty's entry, and play 'God save the Queen.' In the centre of the four sides formed by the cross one, or Poet's Corner, stands an elevation of a pyramidal form, ascended by steps on which the ceremony will be performed. Here is placed King Edward's Chair, covered with cloth of gold. At the altar are some silk curtains of purple, curiously figured, the use of which I could not understand. The crowd of desks in the orchestra are in the form of angels, on whose golden wings lie the crimson music books, surmounted by a golden organ aspiring to the roof. The whole appears like fairy land, or a temple surpassing eastern magnificence. The service opens with Attwood's anthem, 'I was glad.' The Sanctus composed for the occasion by Sir George Smart, the conductor, is very pleasing. It commences with a strain breathed from the wind instruments, the beauty of which is soon enhanced by the stringed instruments, and as these sounds die away they are succeeded by the tones of the organ *alone*, which

are highly gratifying to the ear. After this come the voices pouring in a rich harmony, the grandeur and solemnity of which is increased by the dominant seventh being heard in the low notes of the tenor. In Handel's Coronation Anthem, the loyalty of the voices would have it 'God save the Queen,' till Sir George remarked that it described the crowning of King Solomon. A superior composition of this master soon followed, which was sung with enthusiasm in consequence of the words being altered to 'The Queen shall rejoice in her strength.' At the words "Thou hast set a crown of pure gold upon her head" every performer was inspired. Next was a beautiful anthem composed for the occasion by Mr. Knyvet, a happy deviation from the strict and severe style of the church. In one passage the violins are made to exclaim in reiterating the same sound with great novelty; the middle movement sung by all the principal vocalists our country can boast was executed with a truth and beauty never before heard. They laid aside all foolish pride, and considered they were not degraded by becoming choristers. What the appearance of the orchestra will be I must defer till Thursday, as all the instrumental performers are to be in scarlet and gold, the male voices in surplices, and the ladies robed in stiff muslin."

The above arrangements possess an interest if only that of exemplifying the enormous advance alike in musical taste and performance during the Victorian era. We can scarcely imagine a time when the perpetration of such musical atrocities were not only tolerated, but even admired. Witness for instance, the mongrel version of the Veni Creator,

sung to the crude melody of the Grand Chant; also the saying, and not the singing, of the Creed and Gloria in Excelsis. Once more, during the rendering of the Litany by the two Bishops at their faldstool in the Sacrarium, a functionary, by name Mr. Gwilt, stood hard by with a flag, in order to signal the conclusion of each response, to the Choir in their gallery! At the same time, it must ever be remembered that the Coronation Service has been responsible for the production of some of the most beautiful anthems ever composed, those, for instance, by Blow and Purcell at James II.'s Coronation (when the former received five yards of scarlet cloth for his mantle, as organist to the King) and by Attwood at that of William IV. Above all, there were Handel's glorious Anthems, written for George II.'s Coronation; one of which, "Zadok the Priest," has come to be regarded almost as an integral portion of the ceremony.



APPENDIX IV

From the *Morning Post*, May 7, 1838

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS

CORONATION EXPENSES

RETURN TO AN ORDER OF THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, DATED APRIL 11TH 1838, FOR AN ABSTRACT OF THE ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE CORONATIONS OF GEORGE THE THIRD, GEORGE THE FOURTH, AND OF WILLIAM THE FOURTH, UNDER THE SEVERAL HEADS OF CHARGE; AND STATING FROM WHAT FUNDS THE SAME WERE PAID; AND AN ESTIMATE OF THE EXPENSE OF THE CORONATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA, SO FAR AS THE SAME CAN BE MADE UP.

GEORGE III.

There are no documents from which a correct account could be prepared of the expenses attending the Coronation of George the Third.

GEORGE IV.

	£	s.	d.
Lord Steward, Expenses attending the Banquet	25,184	9	8

Lord Chamberlain, for the Furniture and Decorations of Westminster Abbey and Westminster Hall; for providing the Regalia; for Dresses, &c. of the persons attending and performing various duties	111,880	3	2
Master of the Horse, for the Charger for the Champion	118	18	6
Master of the Robes, for his Majesty's robes, &c.	24,704	8	10
Surveyor General of Works, for fitting up Westminster Abbey and Westminster Hall, Platforms, &c.	52,095	6	9
W. H. Fellowes, Esq., Secretary to his Majesty's Great Chamberlain, for Expenses incurred	2,500	0	0
Hire of the Theatres	3,504	15	0
Master of the Mint, for Medals	4,770	5	4
Sir George Naylor, for expenses in the Earl Marshal's department	5,216	15	0
Ditto, towards the publication of the Account of the Ceremony	3,000	0	0
Deputy Earl Marshal, usual Fee	800	0	0
Sir R. Baker, Expense of Police	981	18	10
Sir T. Tyrwhitt, for Messengers and Doorkeepers House of Lords	173	2	6
Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, for Snuffboxes for Foreign Ministers	8,205	15	0
Earl of Kinnoul, on account of Pursuivants and Heralds in Scotland	254	7	7
Total	£243,390	6	2

This Sum exceeds the Amount stated in the Account presented on the 27th May, 1823 (No. 395) by £5,162 6*s.* 2*d.*; the amount of the Claims alluded to in that Account as then remaining unsettled.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Paid out of the sum voted by Parliament, Session 1820	100,000	0	0
Ditto, Money received from France on account of pecuniary Indemnity under Treaty, anno 1815	143,390	6	2
Total.	£243,390	6	2

WILLIAM THE FOURTH

	£	s.	d.
In the several departments of their Majesties' households	22,234	10	3
By the office of arms for the King's heralds and pursuivants	1,478	3	9
In the office of works, for fitting up the Abbey, &c.	12,085	14	5
In the Mint for Coronation Medals . .	4,326	4	6
The amount expended for fireworks and for keeping open the public theatres on the night of the Coronation . . .	3,034	18	7
	£43,159	11	6
Since this Account was returned to Parliament in 1832 (No. 179) there has been received from the Mint for Money produced by the sale of Medals . . .	861	7	9
Net Expense .	£42,298	3	9

The whole of this expense was defrayed from the sum of £50,000 voted by Parliament in 1831.

QUEEN VICTORIA.

No estimate can yet be prepared of the probable expense of the approaching Coronation.

E. J. Stanley.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
April 30, 1838.

From the *Derby Mercury*, Wednesday, July 31, 1839

CORONATION EXPENSES

A Return under Separate Heads, of the Manner in which £69,421 was paid for her Majesty's Coronation; stating the Amount paid in each Department of the Royal Household, separate from the Expenses of Buildings and Materials:

	£	s.	d.
Lord Chamberlain's department.....	14,024	12	6
Master of the Horse.....	9,800	0	0

Mistress of the Robes				3,163	12 6
Earl Marshal's department				1,485	9 3
Herald's fees				307	0 0
Master of the Mint, for gold and silver medals				5,000	0 0
Commissioners of Woods, &c. expenses of fitting up Westminster Abbey, &c.	£30,213	2	10	31,037	19 4
Expenses of illuminating public buildings	804	16	6		
Fireworks				1,492	8 3
Opening theatres, and other Amusements				3,110	0 0
Total				£69,421	1 10

F. Baring.

Treasury Chambers,
July 18, 1839.

APPENDIX V

AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT QUANTITY OF PLATE IS GIVEN AT THE TIME OF THE CORONATION, ACCORDING TO THE CLAIMS DELIVERED IN TO THE LORD HIGH CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND FOR THAT DAY.

1. The Lord High Almoner for the day, according to claim, two large gilt basons . . . 305 ozs.
2. To the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl of Arundel, claiming as Chief Butler of England, a gold cup of a wine quart . . . . . 32 ozs.
3. To the Lord Mayor of London, as assistant to the Chief Butler, and to serve the King with wine after dinner, a gold cup . . . 30 ozs.
4. To the Mayor of Oxford, as assistant to the Lord Mayor of London, a gilt cup or potole, weighing about . . . . . 110 ozs.
5. To the Lord of the Manor of Great Wimondley, in Hertfordshire, as Chief Cupbearer, a silver gilt cup, weighing about . . . 32 ozs.
6. To the Champion of England, as Lord of the Manor of Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire, now in the Dymock family, a gold cup, of Winchester pint . . . . . 30 ozs.
7. To the Barons of the Cinque Ports, for their claim of supporting the King and Queen's

canopies, each by twelve silver staffs of eight feet in height, with bells to each staff weighing 40 ozs. The 24 staffs and bells weigh in all . 960 ozs.

8. The staff of the Lord High Constable of England is of silver, the ends gold enamelled with the King's arms, and his own, weighing about . . . . . 12 ozs

9. The staff of the Earl Marshal of England is of gold, enamelled black at each end, and engraved with the King's arms and his own, in length 28 inches and weighs about . . . 15 ozs.

10. The gold coronet for Garter King of Arms, weighing about . . . . . 24 ozs.

11. The sceptre or rod for Garter, part silver and part gold . . . . . 8 ozs. 19 dwts.

12. The gold chain and badge for Garter . . 8 ozs.

13. The gilt collar of S.S. with badges for Garter 30 ozs.

14. The same for Lord Lyon, King of Arms for Scotland; in all . . . . . 70 ozs. 19 dwts.

15. The same for Bath King of Arms . 70 ozs. 19 dwts.

16. The silver gilt coronet for Clarencieux King of Arms, about . . . . . 18 ozs.

17. The silver gilt collar of S.S. for the badges of Portcullis only . . . . . 20 ozs.

18. The gold chain and badge, about 70 ozs. 1 dwt. 17 grs.

19. The same for Norroy King of Arms; in all about . . . . . 46 ozs.

20. The collar of S. S. partly gilt and partly white for the six Heralds . . . . . 120 ozs.

21. The collar of S. S. all plain silver for the four Pursuivants . . . . . 30 ozs.

22. The Usher of the Black Rod for England, whose garniture is of gold lace upon a fine black ebony stick or rod, weight about 5 ozs. 6 dwts.

23. The Usher of the Green Rod for Scotland, whose garniture is of silver, part gilt upon a green, weighing about . . . 20 ozs. 15 dwts.

24. The wedges of gold which the King and Queen offer at the altar, each two wedges at 20 ozs. each, in all gold . . . . 40 ozs.

APPENDIX VI

LETTER DESCRIBING THE CORONATION OF GEORGE III.

First published in the *Annual Register* for 1761

SIR,

As the friendship of Mr. Rolles, who had procured me a pass-ticket, as they call it, enabled me to be present both in the hall and the abbey; and as I had a fine view of the procession out of doors, from a one pair of stairs room, which your neighbour, Sir Edward, had hired at the small price of one hundred guineas, on purpose to oblige his acquaintance, I will endeavour to give you as minute an account as I can of all the particulars omitted in the public papers. First then, conceive to yourself the fronts of the houses in all the streets, that could command the least point of view, lined with scaffolding, like so many galleries or boxes, raised one above another to the very roofs. These were covered with carpets and cloths of different colours, which presented a

pleasant variety to the eye; and if you consider the brilliant appearance of the spectators who were seated in them (many being richly drest), you will easily imagine that this was no indifferent part of the show. The mob underneath made a pretty contrast to the rest of the company. Add to this, that though we had nothing but wet and cloudy weather for some time before the day cleared up, and the sun shone auspiciously, as it were in compliment to the grand festival. Had it rained half the spectators were so exalted that they could not have seen the ceremony, as a temporary roof put over the platform, on account of the uncertainty of the weather, was exceeding low. This roof was covered with a kind of sail-cloth; which on orders being given to roll it up, an honest Jack Tar climbed up to the top, and stripped it off in a minute or two; whereas the persons appointed for that service might have been an hour about it. This gave us not only a more extensive view, but let the light in on every part of the procession. I should tell you, that a rank of foot soldiers were placed on each side within the platform; which was an encroachment on the spectators; for at the last coronation I am informed they stood below it; and it was not a little surprising to see the officers familiarly conversing and walking arm-in-arm with many of them, till we were let into the secret, that they were gentlemen who had put on the dresses of common soldiers for what purpose I need not mention. On the outside were stationed, at proper distances, several parties of horse-guards, whose horses somewhat incommoded the people, that pressed incessantly upon them, by their prancing and capering; though luckily I do

not hear of any great mischief being done. I must confess it gave me pain to see the soldiers, both horse and foot, obliged most unmercifully to belabour the heads of the mob with their broad swords, bayonets, and musquets ; but it was not unpleasant to observe several tipping the horse soldiers slily from time to time (some with half-pence and some with silver as they could muster up the cash) ; to let them pass between the horses to get nearer the platform ; after which these unconscionable gentry drove them back again. As soon as it was day-break (for I chose to go to my place over-night), we were diverted with seeing the coaches and chairs of the nobility and gentry passing along with much ado ; and several persons, very richly drest, were obliged to quit their equipages and be escorted by the soldiers through the mob to their respective places. Several carriages I am told received great damage ; Mr. Jennings whom you know, had his chariot broke to pieces, but providentially neither he nor Mrs. Jennings who were in it, received any hurt.

My pass-ticket would have been of no service, if I had not prevailed on one of the guards, by the irresistible argument of half a crown, to make way for me through the mob to the hall-gate, where I got admittance just as their Majesties were seated at the upper end, under magnificent canopies.

There seemed to be no small confusion in marshalling the ranks, which is not to be wondered at, considering the length of the cavalcade, and the numbers that were to walk. At length, however, everything was regularly adjusted, and the procession began to quit the hall between eleven and twelve. The platform leading to the west door of the abbey,

was covered with blue cloth for the train to walk on; but there seemed to be a defect in not covering the upright posts that supported the awning, as it is called, which looked mean and naked, with that or some other coloured cloth. The nobility walked two by two. Being willing to see the procession pass along the platform through the streets, I hastened from the hall, and by the assistance of a soldier, made my way to my former station at the corner of Bridge Street where the windows commanded a double view at the turning. I shall not attempt to describe the splendour and magnificence of the whole; and words must fall short of that innate joy and satisfaction which the spectators felt and expressed, especially as their Majesties passed by; on whose countenance a dignity suited to their station, tempered with the most amiable complacency, was sensibly impressed. It was observable that as their Majesties and the nobility passed the corner which commanded a prospect of Westminster Bridge, they stopped short, and turned back to look at the people, whose appearance as they all had their hats off, and were thick-planted on the ground, which rose gradually, I can compare to nothing but a pavement of heads and faces.

I had the misfortune not to be able to get to the abbey time enough to see all that passed there; nor, indeed, when I got in, could I have so distinct a view as I could have wished. But our friend Harry Whitaker had the luck to be stationed in the first row of the gallery behind the seats allotted for the nobility, close to the square platform, which was erected by the altar, with an ascent of three steps for their Majesties to be crowned on. You are obliged

to him, therefore, for several particulars which I could not otherwise have informed you of. The sermon, he tells me, lasted only fifteen minutes. The King was anointed on the crown of his head, his breast, and the palms of his hands. At the very instant the crown was placed on the King's head, a fellow, having been placed on the top of the abbey-dome, from whence he could look down into the chancel, with a flag which he dropt as a signal, the park and Tower guns began to fire, the trumpets sounded, and the Abbey echoed with the repeated shouts and acclamations of the people; which, on account of the aweful silence, that had hitherto reigned had a very striking effect. As there were no commoners knights of the garter; instead of caps and vestments peculiar to their order, they being all peers, wore the robes and coronets of their respective ranks. When the queen had received the scepter with the cross, and the ivory rod with the dove, her Majesty was conducted to a magnificent throne on the left hand of his Majesty.

I cannot but lament that I was not near enough to observe their Majesties performing the most serious and solemn acts of devotion; but I am told, that the reverent attention which both paid, when (after having made their second oblations) the next ceremony was their receiving the holy communion, it brought to the mind of every one near them, a proper recollection of the consecrated place in which they were.

An hour lost in the morning is not so easily recovered. This was the case in the present instance; for to whatever causes it might be owing, the

procession most assuredly set off too late ; besides, according to what Harry observed, there were such long pauses between some of the ceremonies in the abbey, as plainly shewed all the actors were not perfect in their parts. However it be, it is impossible to conceive the chagrin and disappointment, which the late return of the procession occasioned ; it being so late indeed, that the spectators, even in the open air had but a very dim and gloomy view of it, while to those who sat patiently in Westminster Hall, waiting its return for six hours, scarce a glimpse of it appeared as the branches were not lighted till just upon his Majesty's entrance. I had flattered myself, that a new scene of splendid grandeur would have been presented to us in the return of the procession from the reflection of the lights, &c., and had posted back to the hall with all possible expedition ; but I was greatly disappointed. The whole was confusion, irregularity and disorder.

However, we were afterwards amply recompensed for this partial eclipse, by the bright picture which the lighting of the chandeliers presented to us. Conceive to yourself if you can conceive what I own I am at a loss to describe, so magnificent a building as that of Westminster Hall, lighted up with near three thousand wax candles in most splendid branches, our crowned heads, and almost the whole nobility, with the prime of our gentry, most superbly arrayed, and adorned with a profusion of the most brilliant jewels, the galleries on every side crowded with company, for the most part elegantly and richly dressed ;—but to conceive it in all its lustre, I am conscious it is absolutely necessary

to have been present. To proceed with my narration.—Their Majesties table was served with three courses, at the first of which Earl Talbot as steward of his Majesty's household, rode up from the hall gate to the steps leading to where their Majesties sat, and on his returning the spectators were presented with an unexpected sight in his lordship's backing his horse, that he might keep his face still towards the King. A loud clapping and huzzaing consequently ensued.

After the first course and before the second, the king's champion, Mr. Dymocke, who enjoys that office as being lord of the manor of Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire, entered the hall, completely armed, in one of his Majesty's best suits of white armour, mounted on a fine white horse, the same his late Majesty rode at the battle of Dettingen, richly caparisoned, in the following manner:

Two trumpets, with the champion's arms on their banners; the serjeant trumpet with his mace on his shoulder; the champion's two esquires, richly habited, one on the right hand with the champion's lance carried upright; the other on the left hand, with his target, and the champion's arms depicted thereon; the herald of arms with a paper in his hand, containing the words of the challenge.

The earl marshall in his robes and coronet, on horseback, with the marshall's staff in his hand: the champion on horseback, with a gauntlet in his right hand, his helmet on his head adorned with a great plume of feathers, white, blue, and red: the lord high constable in his robes and coronet, and collar of the order, on horseback, with the constable's staff.

Four pages richly apparelled, attendants on the champion.

The passage to their Majesties table being cleared by the knight marshall, the herald at arms, with a loud voice, proclaimed the champion's challenge, at the lower end of the hall, in the words following :

> " If any person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay, Our Sovereign Lord King George III., king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c., [grandson] and next heir to sovereign lord king [George II.] the last king deceased, to be the right heir to the imperial crown of the realm of Great Britain, or that he ought not to enjoy the same ; here is his champion who saith that he lyeth, and is a false traitor being ready in person to combat with him ; and in this quarrel will adventure his life against him, on what day soever shall be appointed."

And then the champion throws down his gauntlet ; which, having lain some small time, the herald took up and returned it to the champion.

Then they advanced in the same order to the middle of the hall, where the said herald made proclamation as before ; and lastly to the foot of the steps, when the said herald, and those who preceded him, going to the top of the steps, made proclamation a third time, at the end whereof the champion cast down his gauntlet, which after some time being taken up, and returned to him by the herald, he made a low obeisance to his Majesty ; whereupon the cupbearer, assisted as before, brought to the King a gilt bowl of wine, with a cover ; his Majesty

drank to the champion, and sent him the said bowl by the cupbearer, accompanied with his assistants; which the champion (having put on his gauntlet) received, and retiring a little drank thereof, and made his humble reverence to his Majesty; and being accompanied as before, rode out of the hall taking the said bowl and cover with him as his fee.

You cannot expect that I should give you a bill of fare, or enumerate the dishes that were provided and sent from the adjacent temporary kitchens, erected in Cotton Garden for this purpose. No less than sixty haunches of venison, with a surprising quantity of all sorts of game, were laid in for this grand feast. The King's table was covered with 120 dishes at three several times, served up by his Majesty's band of pensioners; but what chiefly attracted our eyes was their Majesties desert, in which the confectioner had lavished all his ingenuity in rock work and emblematical figures. The other deserts were no less admirable for their expressive devices.

But I must not forget to tell you, that when the company came to be seated the poor Knights of the Bath had been overlooked, and no table provided for them. An airy apology, however, was served up to them instead of a substantial dinner: but the two junior knights in order to preserve their rank of precedency to their successors, were placed at the head of the judges table above all the learned brethren of the coif. The peers were placed on the outermost side of the tables, and the peeresses within, nearest to the walls. You cannot suppose that there was the greatest order imaginable observed

during dinner, but must conclude that some of the company were as eager and impatient to satisfy the craving of their appetites, as any of your country squires at a race or assize ordinary.

It was pleasant to see the various stratagems made use of by the company in the galleries to come in for a smack of the good things below. The ladies clubbed their handkerchiefs together to draw up a chicken or a bottle of wine. Some had been so provident as to bring baskets with them, which were let down, like the prisoners boxes at Ludgate or the Gate house, with a Pray remember the poor.

You will think it high time that I should bring this long letter to a conclusion. Let it suffice then to acquaint you, that their Majesties returned to St. James's a little after ten o'clock at night; but they were pleased to give time for the peeresses to go first, that they might not be incommoded by the pressure of the mob to see their Majesties. After the nobility were departed, the hall doors were thrown open according to custom, when the people immediately cleared it of all the moveables, such as the victuals, cloths, plates, dishes, &c., and, in short, everything that could stick to their fingers.

I need not tell you, that several coronation medals in silver were thrown among the populace at the return of the procession. One of them was pitched into Mrs. Dixon's lap, as she sat upon a scaffold in Palace-yard. Some of gold were also thrown among the peeresses within the Abbey, just after the King was crowned, but they thought it beneath their dignity to stoop to pick them up.

Our friend Harry who was upon the scaffold, at

the return of the procession, closed in with the rear; at the expense of half a guinea was admitted into the hall; got brimful of his Majesty's claret; and in the universal plunder brought off the glass her Majesty drank in, which is placed in the beaufet as a valuable curiosity.

I should not forget telling you that I am well assured the King's crown weighs almost three pounds and a half, and that the great diamond in it fell out in returning to Westminster Hall, but was immediately found and restored.

My wife desires her compliments to you; she was greatly pleased with the sight. All friends are well except that little Nancy Green has got a swelled face by being up all night; and Tom Moffat has his leg laid up on a stool, on account of a broken shin, which he got by a kick from a trooper's horse as a reward for his mobbing it. I shall say nothing of the illuminations at night; the newspapers must have told you of them, and that the Admiralty in particular, was remarkably lighted up. I expect to have from you an account of the rejoicings at your little town; and desire to know whether you was able to get a slice of the ox, which was roasted whole on this occasion.

I am dear Sir,

Yours most heartily,

JAMES HEMING.

P.S.—The princess dowager of Wales, with the younger branches of the royal family, had a box to see the coronation in the abbey, and afterwards dined in an apartment by themselves adjoining the hall.

APPENDIX VII

BOOKS BEARING ON THE CORONATION

The Liber Regalis (printed for the Roxburghe Club) London, 1870.

Transcript of ditto, by the late Dean Ireland, now preserved in the Chapter Clerk's Office at Westminster Abbey.

The State Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, by Nichols.

The Coronation of Charles II., by Sir Charles Walker. London, 1660.

The entire Ceremonies of the Coronation of Charles II., by Elias Ashmole. London, 1661.

The Entertainment of Charles II., by John Ogilby T. Roycroft, London, 1662.

The King's Coronation, by John Ogilby. W. Morgan, London, 1685.

The Coronation of James II. and Queen Mary, by Francis Sandford. At the Savoy, London, 1687.

The Court of England. London, 1689.

The form of the Proceeding to the Royal Coronation of George I. In the Savoy, London, 1714.

The Coronation of His Majesty George I. (MSS. in the Chapter Library of Westminster Abbey).

An exact account of the form and ceremony of the Coronation of His Majesty, George I. London. 1714.

History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of Westminster, by John Dart. London, 1823.

A Complete Account of the Ceremonies observed in the Coronation of the Kings and Queens of England. J. Robert, London, 1727.

The Ceremonial of the Coronation of King George II. and his Consort Queen Caroline. Dublin, 1727.

The form of the Proceeding to the Royal Coronation of their Majesties King George II. and Queen Caroline. Westminster, 1727.

Views of the Coronation of George IV. London, 1821.

The Coronation of George IV. London, 1821.

The Ceremonial of the Coronation of George IV. Westminster, 1823.

The Coronation of George IV. 1823.

Coronation Anecdotes by Giles Gossip. London, 1823.

The Coronation of George IV., by Sir George Nayler. London, 1824 and 1839.

The Ceremonies to be observed at the Royal Coronation of King William IV. and Queen Adelaide. London, 1831.

The Royal Coronation of their Most Excellent Majesties King William IV. and Queen Adelaide. Westminster, 1831.

Regal Records, by J. R. Planché. London, 1838.

The Book of the Court, by William J. Thoms. London, 1838.

Chapters on Coronations. London, 1838.
Coronation Records. London, 1838.
The ceremonies to be observed at the Royal Coronation of Queen Victoria. London, 1838.
Dress and habits of the English People, by Strutt. London, 1796–1799.
Views of the inside of Westminster Hall. London, 1727 and 1761.
Account of the Ceremonies observed in the Coronation of Kings and Queens of England. G. Kearsley, London, 1760.
A Particular Account of the solemnities used at the Coronation of King George II. and Queen Caroline. London, 1761.
The form of the Proceeding to the Coronation of George III. London, 1761.
Ceremonies observed at the Coronation of George III. G. Kearsley, London, 1761.
Collections relative to the Claims at the Coronations of several of the Kings of England. J. Nichols and Son, London, 1820.
A Key to the Regalia, by Jonas Dennis. London, 1820.
The Round Table. London, 1820.
The Glory of Regality, by Arthur Taylor. London, 1820.
Ceremonies and ancient Customs observed at the Coronation of the Kings of England. G. Smeeton, London, 1820.
Coronation of George IV. London, 1820.
The Ceremonies to be observed at the Coronation of George IV. London 1821.
The Royal Coronation of George IV. London, 1821.

Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, by Strutt.
Coronation Tracts.
Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, by W. Maskell.
Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey, by A. P. Stanley (Fifth Edition). London, 1882.
Scrivelsby, The Home of the Champions, by Lodge. London, 1893.
The Sacring of the English Kings, by J. Wickham Legg. London, 1894.
The Regalia of England, by Cyril Davenport. London, 1895.
Westminster, by Walter Besant. London, 1897.
Gleanings from Westminster Abbey, by G. Gilbert Scott. London, 1863.
The Cinque Ports (Historic Towns Series), by Montagu Burrows. London, 1895.
History of London, by Rev. W. J. Loftie. London.
Crowns and Coronations, by William Jones (New Edition). London, 1898.
The Deanery Guide to Westminster Abbey, by M. C. Bradley and E. T. Bradley.
Three Coronation Orders, by J. Wickham Legg. London, 1900.
The Coronation Service, by J. H. Pemberton. London, 1901.
The Tower of London, by Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower. London, 1901.
English Coronation Records, by Leopold Wickham Legg. London, 1901.
Imperial and Royal Coronations, by E. Metallinos. London, 1902.
Coronation of James I., by J. Wickham Legg. London, 1902.

Scottish Coronations, by the Marquess of Bute. 1902.

The Great Solemnity of the Coronation, by Douglas Macleane. London, 1902.

The Coronation Regalia, by W. H. Stacpoole. 1902.

History of English Coronations, by David Tollemache. 1902.

The Dictionary of the Coronation, by J. Debrett. London, 1902.

Crowning the King, by Arthur H. Beaven. London, 1902.

Coronation Ceremonial, by H. Thurston.

The Coronation Book of Edward VII., by W. J. Loftie. London, 1903.

The Coronation of Edward VII., by J. E. C. Bodley. London, 1903.

Westminster Abbey: Its Story and Associations, by E. V. Murray Smith. London, 1906.

Coronation Claims, by G. Woods Wollaston, M.V.O. London, 1910.

N.B.—The above list does not pretend to be exhaustive. The enormous output of Coronation literature in the years 1901 and 1902 would render any attempt to attain this end well-nigh impossible. It is hoped, however, that it is sufficiently extensive to be of some service to those who desire to gain a real knowledge of this fascinating subject.

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